

DIVRIGI: ULU CAMI AND HOSPITAL

b y

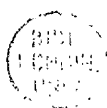
Yolande Crowe

Thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of London

May 1973



ProQuest Number: 10752602

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10752602

Published by ProQuest LLC (2018). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

ABSTRACT

A branch of the Mangujakids, a minor Turkish tribe, chose to settle in Divriği^V and its area in central Anatolia, after the battle of Manzikert, 1071 A.D. where the Seljuq Alp Arslan defeated the Byzantine emperor Romanus Diogenes.

Built on a hillside of local sandstone at a time of great prosperity, the Ulu Cami or Great Mosque and hospital now overlook the modern town. Besides the date of the building, 626/1228-9, the three foundation inscriptions record in turn the names of Aḥmad Shāh and his wife, both Mangujakids; in addition a separate carving on the north portal includes the name of Kay-Qubādh I to whom Aḥmad Shāh owed allegiance.

Both buildings have been signed by the same builder Khūrshāh and combine into one rectangular structure under the same roof. The mosque with its two monumental portals on the north and west sides, shares its southern qibla wall with the north wall of the hospital, the entrance of which is a double archway. All three entrances present original problems of composition and decoration as well as the mihṛāb. A large vocabulary of geometric and vegetal motifs has been assembled in patterns recalling textiles, wood carvings and manuscript ornament. Some motifs may be traced as far east as Transoxania and Khurāsān and must have travelled west along two roads, one by way of the Caucasus and the other through southern Āzarbāijān, northern Mesopotamia and the Upper Euphrates.

The vaulting systems and the columns belong more to the Caucasus tradition of building whereas the plan of the mosque is purely Anatolian and that of the hospital follows the Syrian tradition.

It is the first and last time that such a complex of architectural and decorative features appears in Anatolia before the Mongol conquest of 641/1243. Although it does not translate into one harmonious building yet it still provides the key to the major part of Anatolian architecture and decoration for the next two centuries.

CONTENTS

	page
Abstract	2
Acknowledgements	4
Abbreviations	5
Chapter One Historical background ..	6
Chapter Two General description of the monument and inscriptions..	16
Chapter Three Exterior of the building ..	30
North portal	33
West portal	53
East window	65
Hospital portal	75
Chapter Four Interior of the mosque and hospital	96
The mosque	96
The hospital	120
Chapter Five Conclusion	140
Select bibliography	181
Plates	198
Photographs.. .. .	200
Drawings	205

Transliteration

The transliteration of historical and geographical names is that of B.E.Bosworth, The Islamic dynasties, Edinburgh, 1967.

Note: In The Land of the Eastern Caliphate, Le Strange includes the various spellings of Divriği throughout its history: Abriḳ, Divriḳ, Dīvriḡī, Dīfriḡī, Tephrike and Aphrike; in view of present day usage, it seems more reasonable and convenient to choose the name as it appears in contemporary spelling: Divriḡi, with a soft G. 'Anatolia' is used solely to qualify the geographical area.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am very grateful to Dr. G. Fehervári and Mr. J. Burton-Page for their constant encouragement and kindness and, in particular, thanks are due to Professor D.M.Lang, Dr. R. Cormack and Dr. J.M.Rogers for their guidance and moral support.

I would also like to thank the staff of the School of Oriental and African Studies who patiently coped with my numerous and varied queries and especially the members of the photographic department who provided me with helpful advice and facilities.

To the staffs of the libraries of the School of Oriental and African Studies and of the Victoria and Albert Museum, I would like to express my gratitude for the facilities and opportunities they generously provided for my research.

My special thanks go to Professor A. Louca in charge of the van Berchem archives in the Bibliothèque publique et universitaire in Geneva.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the Central Research Fund and the Gulberkian Foundation for their generous awards which enabled me to assemble relevant material for this study.

To Dr. A. Shboul of the University of Jordan, I wish to record my indebtedness for helping me with my Arabic.

But above all I would like to express my gratitude to Mr. G. Michell for drawing out the new plans and to Miss Z. Prpić for her revealing drawings.

Finally I would like to thank all those friends and colleagues who have helped me in various ways and in particular Miss L. George for her many suggestions.

ABBREVIATIONS

- AAP S.KH.MNATSAKANYAN, Arkhitektura armyanskikh pritvorov, Erevan, 1952.
- AC J.M.FIEY, Assyrie chrétienne, 2 vols., Beirut, 1965.
- AM II M. SÖZEN, Selçuklular ve Beylikler devri, Anadolu medreseleri
II, Istanbul, 1972.
- AMA Catalogue of the exhibition Architettura medievale armena, Rome, 1968.
- Amida M. van BERCHEM and J. STRZYGOWSKI, Amida, Heidelberg-Paris.
- AARP Art and archaeology research papers, I, London, 1972.
- CCCK T.S.R.BOASE, Castles and churches of the Crusading Kingdom, London, 1967.
- CIA III M. van BERCHEM and H. EDHEM, Corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum,
3rd part, Asie mineure, Cairo, 1910.
- CRA K.J.CONANT, Carolingian and Romanesque architecture, Harmondsworth, 1959.
- DAK K.ERDMANN, Das Anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts,
2 vols., Berlin, 1961.
- Damascus E.HERZFELD, Damascus: studies in architecture, in Ars Islamica,
IX, 1-53, X, 13-70, XI-XII, 1-71, XIII-XIV, 118-38.
- DK D.KUBAN, "The mosque and hospital at Divriği and the origin of
Anatolian-Turkish architecture", Anatolica 2, 1968, 122-9.
- ECBA R. KRAUTHEIMER, Early Christian and Byzantine architecture, 1965.
- IA L.A.MAYER, Islamic architects and their works, Geneva, 1956.
- J.A. Journal Asiatique, 9ème série, 17, 1901 .
- IMMA J.SAUVAGET, "Inventaire des monuments musulmans de la ville
d'Alep", Revue des Etudes Islamiques, 23, Paris, 1931, 59-114.
- MA J.HARVEY, The medieval architect, London, 1972.
- MCRJ C.ENLART, Les monuments des Croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem,
2 vols., Paris, 1927.
- MIAVE R.H.ÜNAL, Les monuments islamiques anciens de la ville
d'Erzerum et de sa région, Paris, 1968.
- MSP J.LEROY, Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures, 2 vols.,
Paris, 1964.
- MTA A.GABRIEL, Monuments turcs d'Anatolie, I Paris, 1931; II Paris, 1934.
- PR G.A.PUGACHENKOVA and L.G.REMPER, Istoriya iskusstva Uzbekistana
s drevneishikh vremen do serediny devyatnadsatogo veka,
Moscow, 1965.
- Reise F.SARRE and E. HERTZFELD, Archäologische Reise im Euphrat-und-
Tigris-gabeit, 4 vols., Berlin, 1911-20.
- Survey A.U.POPE ed., A survey of Persian art, 6 vols., Oxford, 1938.
- VD, V A.S.Ülgen, "Divriği Ulu Camii ve Darüçşifasi", Vakıflar Dergisi,
5, 1962, 93-8.
H. AREL, "Divriği Ulu Camii kuzey portalinin mimarî kuruluşu",
Vakıflar Dergisi, 5, 1962, 99-125.

Chapter One

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The town of Divrigi^V in the vilayet of Sivas lies in a rather remote area of central Turkey. The complexity of its geographical position (pl. 1) may explain the historical circumstances which led to its existence and the building and preservation of its monuments in particular the so-called Ulu Cami.

Divrigi^V stands on the right bank of the Çalti Suyu a right hand tributary of the Euphrates at a height of approximately 980 m. As a matter of interest it shares the same latitude as Lisbon, but its winters are harsh and the town is liable to be isolated by heavy snow storms; its summers are hot with cool evenings. The easier roads of access are along the river beds and naturally the railway line follows them down the Çalti Suyu and up the Euphrates towards Erzincan. From Divrigi^V there is a bad track running north to Zara and south to Malatya; it seems to be all that is left of an access route to Ordu and the Black Sea through a number of secluded valleys. Thirty kms. due south of the town, the Çalgan Dag^V rises to a height of 2,722 m. and the whole river system to the north-east and south of it draws its supply from the mountain snows which provide permanent irrigation for the rich fields and orchards. If Divrigi^V were to be the centre of a circle with a radius of about 100 kms., Sivas, Erzincan, Harput and Malatya would be the only towns standing on its circumference; within the circle only Kemah is worth mentioning for its earlier importance in local history.

There is one more geographical feature on the opposite side of the river from the main town which requires some explanation. The

presence of iron mines within easy reach of Divrigi^V beyond to-day's north-west suburbs, would appear to have been a significant element contributing to its existence in a remote area and its subsequent development into a stronghold and for a short time, a major town.

So far, no mention of this ore has been made except on modern maps.¹ The mines must have been worked over the centuries for sufficiently long a period, and their existence must have been so well known that there seemed no need to make comment upon them. On the other hand, their early and perhaps secret exploitation could explain some of the importance of Divrigi^V from Byzantine times onward despite its remoteness.

Neither the Persian nor the Roman road system ever incorporated it as a staging point. Its identification with Nicopolis has been discarded²; while its pre-Islamic existence can be hinted at when one considers the foundations of the walls surrounding the citadel, which overlooks the whole town to the west and the river to the east. This is likely to have been where the Paulicians under their chief Karbeas chose to build a new town or rather some kind of fortress in the ninth century. The first mention of Divrigi^V appears almost simultaneously in the Arab and Byzantine texts relating to that period.³ Le Strange sums up the Paulicians as 'a curious sect of Eastern Christians whose Manichaean beliefs caused them to be ruthlessly persecuted

¹In his entry for Divrigi^V (Encyclopedia of Islam, I, 1908, 979-81), Cl. Huart mentions mines of iron ore and loadstone which were no longer worked.

²CIA III, 55.

³G. LE STRANGE, The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, Cambridge, 1905, 119.

by the emperors of Constantinople'. They were a kind of limes population scattered along the dividing line between Byzantium and the 'Abbāsid empire which stretched roughly from the gulf of Alexandretta to the Armenian territories round Lake Van. For a time the Paulicians fought against the Arabs in spite of the religious persecutions of the Orthodox emperors. Eventually they could no longer endure the endless persecutions, massacres and confiscations, so they passed over to the opposite camp with the blessing of 'Umar ibn-'Abd-Allāh al-Aqla, Amīr of Malatya who allowed them to settle in Argaun and Amara. Whether it was that their chief Karbeas, at one time a protomandor, was too near his new master or that the towns became too small for their prospering communities, he felt himself under no alternative but to move to Divrigi^V from where he could, at little expense, harass the victorious armies of Michael III the Amorīan bringing back its trails of prisoners from his raids on Amida in 856.

The young emperor Michael had taken over from his mother, the empress Theodora, the year before and he was determined to pursue the new Orthodox policy emphasized by the Declaration of 11 March 843. He completed another successful raid on Samosata in 859 and finally in 863 the Byzantine army defeated and killed the Amīr of Malatya during his daring incursion on Sansum. His ally 'Alī-ibn-Yaḥyā al-Armānī was also killed; it is probable that Karbeas met with the same fate and fell together with a great number of Paulicians. His nephew Chrysocheiros, once a strategos, took over from him and controlled the country from Darendē to Argaun and Divrigi^V. He carried raids as far as Nicomedia/Izmit, an area he knew well, and also Ephesus. Eventually he and his partisans fell to the relentless attacks of the first Macedonian emperor Basil in 872, at which time Divrigi^V was destroyed

and its population dispersed,¹ and the area partly repopulated with the Mleh, Armenians from the Taurus.

The capture of Divrigi^V is a typical example of the successes achieved by Basil in regaining the passes into Syria and Mesopotamia between 871 and 882 and more over these successes were made all the easier by the gradual decline of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate, which was first the result of a series of rebellions such as those of the Zutt and Zanj, second the growing independence of provincial rulers like the Saffārids, the Zaydites and the Tūlūnids and third, complex religious controversies.

It is significant that the Paulicians, although settled over a large area, do not seem to have left any monuments. They certainly lived in a land laid waste by war but the answer may also lie in their kind of Christian heresy. One is wholly dependent on the descriptions of their enemies since all their own writings were, so far as it is known, destroyed. The Paulicians are said to have had no respect for their religious meeting places; more over, there was no special religious hierarchy, no cult of the cross, no baptism, no Holy Communion, nonetheless there must have been a positive side to this heresy which is still unknown.²

The next salient event in the history of Anatolia was the battle

¹G. LE STRANGE, "Al-Abrī, Tephrike, the capital of the Paulicians, a correction corrected", Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1896, 733-41.

²H. GREGOIRE, "Les sources de l'histoire des Pauliciens", Bulletin de l'Académie de Belgique, 22, 1936, 95.

of Manzikert on 26 August 1071/463, which completely altered the balance of power. It was the starting point of the gradual penetration of many Turcoman tribes into Anatolia; there was no longer a Byzantine frontier line cushioned by an Armenian population to the north-east and the centre of Anatolia; most of them resettled in Cilicia. Iconium became Konya the capital of the Seljuqs of the Rūm, while other lesser tribes gradually settled down and grew in strength like the Dānishmendids around Malatya. In a smaller way the Mangujakids occupied and settled in the lands around Erzincan, Karahisar, Kemah and Divrigi^V.

Within the 'Abbāsīd period, Divrigi^V and its Paulician population stood at the most northern part of the empire. From now on the town and the land around it seemed to hide in the southern part of a new state. Little is yet known about this small dynasty first established in the fort of Kemah on the Euphrates; Munajjim Bāshī¹ mentions only one branch which settled in Erzincan and sponsored the arts. Niẓāmī of Ganja dedicated his Makhzan al-Asrār (ca. 1178 A.D.) to Fakhr ad-Dīn Bahrām Shāh who died in 622/1225. For a very short time before his enforced deportation, his son 'Alā' ad-Dīn Dā'ūd maintained the famous Arab man of science 'Abd-al-Laṭīf. But his reign in Erzincan however was curtailed by 'Alā' ad-Dīn Kay-Qubādh I who took over his land.

There exists another branch of the Mangujakids which may be traced through their monuments and their coins in Divrigi^V. This branch wisely maintained a vassal relationship with Konya. Shāhānshāh's epitaph dated 10 Sha'bān 592/9 July 1196² indicates that he was the grand-

¹ See extract of his Jāmi' al-duwal published by van BERCHEM, CIA III, Appendix I, 101-3.

² CIA III, 57, No. 32

son of the founder of the dynasty. His son Sulaymān Shāh II succeeded him and was the father of Aḥmad Shāh who founded the Great Mosque at Divriği^V. His wife Tūrān Malik was responsible for the adjacent hospital. Both parts are dated to the same year 626/1228-9. The waqf of 641/1243 mentions Aḥmad Shāh and his mother Fāṭimah Khātūn. If the two inscriptions on the walls of the citadel dated 634/1236-7 and 640/1242-3¹ are to be relied upon, it is again the name of Aḥmad Shāh which is mentioned for the repairs of the walls. The first date coincides with the year of the death of Kay-Qubādh I and shortly after the latter one, the Seljuqs of Rūm were defeated by the Mongols at the battle of Köse Dag^V on 26 June 1243. For a time the Seljuq dynasty was in fact vassal and shared with the Mongols in the pilfering and sacking of towns. In 675/1276-7 the Il-Khānid Abaqā sacked Divriği^V himself.

In other instances minor vassals of the Il-Khānids acquired complete independence from their Mongol overlord; this was the case of 'Alā' ad-Dīn Eretnā-i-Ja'far. He started his political career as governor general in Asia Minor from 728 to 736/1327-8 to 1335-6, then governed from Sivas after Abū-Sa'īd's death in 736/1335, the last of the powerful Il-Khānids. With great foresight he realised that the true power of the time lay in the hands of the Mamlūks of Egypt and therefore he verbally submitted to al-Malik an-Nāṣir an-Nāṣir ad-Dīn Muḥammad in 737/1336-7. He was a learned prince, sufficiently independent to strike his own coins. His son, like himself, took considerable care to remain in close touch with the Mamlūks. As for his grandson he was overpowered by the local rulers, the Qaramānids and the rising Aq-Qoyunlus allied to Tīmūr the Great. The end of this dynasty

¹CIA III, 88, No. 54, 88-9, No. 55.

came when he was killed in 782/1380. It is probably during this period that the Mamlūk road system was first carried as far as Divriği,¹ which serves to emphasize even more the possibility of exchanges with the south in the fourteenth century.

Almost at the same period another despot rose to power in the former lands of the Mangujakids: Burhān ad-Dīn born into a public service background, rapidly overtook the Eretnids in 767/1365-6 and proclaimed himself Sultan in 782/1380. He is remembered as a very talented poet whose Dīwān was rightly famous. He intrigued both for and against the Mamlūks and the Aq-Qoyunlus and was finally defeated and killed about 800/1398, perhaps by the Ottoman Bāyazīd Yildirim 'the lightning-flash' during his brief tenure of the region, and before his crushing defeat by Tīmūr near Ankara in 804/1402.

The Mamlūks soon gained control over their northern Turkish outposts. Proof of this achievement lies in the inscription of one of their governors on the tomb of his son dated 894/1489² under the reign of Qā'it Bay. Another of Divriği's tomb towers, the so-called Sitte Melik, includes a Mamlūk epitaph indicating the burial of an other governor in 869/1464.³ Early in the sixteenth century the Ottoman sultan Selīm I finally crushed the Mamlūks; Divriği became part of the Ottoman empire in 922/1516.

*

*

*

¹J. SAUVAGET, La poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des Mamelouks, Paris, 1941, 56.

²CIA III, 94, No. 59.

³CIA III, 69, No. 40. For a list of Mamlūk inscriptions in Turkey, see my forthcoming paper, Un aperçu des Mamelouks en Anatolie, in the Proceedings of the fourth International Congress of Turkish art, Aix-en-Provence, 1971.

After examining the different stages in the history of Divriği^V itself, it would seem appropriate at this point, to make a brief survey of the political situation in the neighbouring principalities at about the time of the foundation of the Great Mosque and Hospital in Divriği^V, 626/1228-9. It might throw some light on the more powerful and well-established rulers able to sponsor the arts and new architecture.

'Alā' ad-Dīn Kay-Qubādh I, the Seljuq sultan of the Rūm, was the recognised dominant figure in Anatolia. His realm extended from Alanya in 1221 to the vicinity of Silifke on the south coast of the Mediterranean next to the kingdom of Lesser Armenia. He had consolidated his hold over the shores of the Black Sea from Sinop to Trabzon by 1229, where Alexis Comnenus no longer paid tribute to the Latin kingdom in Constantinople since 1204, but instead to the Seljuq power. A durable peace was maintained with the emperor Theodorus Lascaris in Nicaea who in turn was able to keep the Latin crusaders in check.¹

The situation on the eastern borders became more insecure as the Khwārazm-Shāh Jalāl-ad-dīn and subsequently the Mongol conquerors created chaos in Āzarbāijān and Georgia which then included the territories of Greater Armenia. Queen Tamar of Georgia had reigned supreme over these areas from 1184 to 1213, but under her son the rich kingdom had to submit to the raids and pilferings of Jalāl-ad-Dīn, who sacked Tiflis in 1225, took Akhlāt in 1229 after two sieges and in a way, weakened and prepared the whole area for the Mongol invasion and occupation.

¹ A.A. VASILIEV, "The foundation of the empire of Trebizond", Speculum 11, 1936, 3-37.

The siding of the Erzincan Mangujakids with Jalāl-ad-Dīn, was the excuse for 'Alā' ad-Dīn Kay-Qubādh I to annex this principality from its last prince Dā'ūd Shāh almost immediately after he succeeded his father in 1225. Erzerum was also annexed for the same reasons after the final defeat of the Khwārazm-Shāh in 628/1231 at Yassi-Chimen west of Erzincan.

The Mangujakids of Divrigi submitted to 'Alā' ad-Dīn Kay-Qubādh I without offering, it seems, any resistance. A badly carved inscription (ph.4) inserted in the north portal of the Great Mosque underlines this wise move by Aḥmad Shāh. As will be seen (22, No.2) the inscription does not appear to have been conceived as an integral part of the portal. Despite this apparently submissive attitude, this branch of the Mangujakids only survived as an independent entity until the middle of the thirteenth century.¹

Finally the territories to the south of the Anatolian plateau always constituted a more or less fluctuating border with a series of small buffer-states under the Artuqids and the more powerful Zangids until the Kurd Ṣalāḥ-ad-Dīn extended his dominions from Egypt and Syria into the lands of the three Diyār: Bark, Mudar and Rabi'a. Under the menace of the Khwārazm-Shāh Jalāl-ad-Dīn, his successors rallied the Seljuqs of the Rūm and their army was the deciding factor in the final defeat of Jalāl-ad-Dīn. Meanwhile to the east of this frontier area, the atabeg Badr-ad-Dīn Lu'lu' of Mosul had benefitted by the fall of the Zangid rule and had taken on the titles of al-Malik ar-Raḥīm. Under his effective control, the whole area formerly under the Zangids and Mosul itself, prospered in a climate of religious tolerance.²

¹ CIA III, 89, No. 56. The son of Aḥmad Shāh Ṣalīḥ rebuilt a tower of the citadel in 650/1252.

² J. LEROY, "La renaissance de l'Eglise syriaque au XII^e et XIII^e siècles", Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, 14, 1971, 131-48 and 239-55.

Against this historical and political background, it is to be wondered what reasons could have justified the building of such a surprising monument as the Great Mosque and hospital, first during the early stages of the thirteenth century A.D. and second, in such a location as Divriği^V.

That there should be no antecedents in the vicinity of this town comes as no surprise after a cursory review of the past events in that area, from early Islam upto the battle of Manzikert (1071 A.D.). The whole region of the Taurus and anti-Taurus as far as Lake Van, remained a battlefield between Byzantium and the Arab world with the town of Malatya (Map pl. 1) as one of the chief prizes. Throughout the twelfth century A.D., the Seljuqs of Rūm were permanently engaged in warfare with their rivals the Danishmends until 1174 A.D. and simultaneously with three successive crusades, one of which even occupied briefly Konya in 1190 A.D. Not until the reign of Kay-Qubādh I did the combination of absolute power and prosperity allow the arts to flourish in Anatolia.

Consequently most ideas and some techniques had to be drawn from neighbouring lands where some art continuity had been achieved during various periods of relative peace and prosperity. The Mangujakids of Divriği^V on the other hand, were, owing to their wealth, the last Turkic tribe to remain autonomous under Kay-Qubādh I. This wealth was due to the central position of the town on the north-south trade route and the mining of the iron ore which made such a building programme possible. This complex construction implied the hiring of more than one team of masons, a fact which led to a syncretic style all of its own. In the following chapters an attempt will be made to analyse and at the same time, for greater clarity, to trace within the same medium, the origin of most features in the architecture and decoration. Only then will it be possible to discuss the multiplicity of problems which must have confronted an architect in medieval Anatolia.

Chapter Two

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE MONUMENT AND INSCRIPTIONS

General description

The site of the Great Mosque and Hospital in Divrigi^V lies half-way up the slope of a fairly steep hill facing west (ph.1). The large sandstone faced building dominates the town with very few houses built above it further up the hill. Most of the habitations are grouped well below the level of the mosque and hospital, closer to the river, to the west and south of the monument. At the end of the nineteenth century the records give a population of 5,600 inhabitants over a thousand of which were Christians.¹ In 1972 it is more than 10,000.

The first outline of the composite monument was schematically drawn by van Berchem² at the time of the 1907 restoration (ph.2). By 1934 Gabriel had produced more professional drawings which included a north-south section of the ensemble.³ Since then a series of seven plans and drawings have been made by Ülgen⁴ (pls.2-4). He rectifies some of Gabriel's detailed measurements and indicates in particular the distortion of the plan of the mosque in the north-west part. He has also added new sections for both parts, but unfortunately does not include either a north or south elevation for the outside walls. The latest repairs were completed in 1970; they include an entirely new pitched roof in zinc over the whole structure

¹V. CUINET, Turquie d'Asie, I, 1890, 685-9.

²CIA III, pl. VI.

³MTA II, 176 fig. 112, 178 fig. 113, 184 fig. 118.

⁴VD, V, 93-9.

with added special treatment for its four salient elements: the pyramidal stone roof over the mihṛāb dome has been refaced, a similar but lower one has been added over the tomb chamber, and two new large oculi with glass panes let in a maximum of daylight at the centre of each building. Furthermore a trench¹ was dug out of the hill to a depth of almost 6.00 m. along the east wall to allow proper ventilation of the wall. The trench was duly covered with flagstones; an access door exists on the south side of it. A further six plans and elevations were drawn up this year to emphasize the layout of all openings and the four elevations. (pls. 5-10)

Exterior

Following the measurements of Gabriel which were checked in situ, the structure covers an area of $2,048\text{m}^2$ (32 x 64 m.). This area is to be divided into two separate units which correspond to their different function: a mosque and a hospital. A connection between the two units is made possible by an opening on the left of the qibla wall. A sketch by Gabriel² shows a ratio of five to three which stresses the greater importance given to the mosque in the structure.

All outside walls are made of local sandstone blocks, those on the west elevation being the best dressed. There, a few odd ones have been lightly carved with primitive patterns. On the east wall, a large decorated window into the mosque contrasts with the two smaller ones on its left; their plain outline belongs to the light system for the tomb chamber. Alone on the north wall, the almost square

¹This trench was brought to my attention by G. Goodwin who very kindly lent me his collection of photographs taken in 1967.

²MTI II, 175.

portal, 13.60 m. high, has been set slightly off centre to the right (pl.8). The west wall shows a series of plain windows so as not to deter from the lavishness of the two portals into the mosque and the hospital respectively 8.4 m. and 11.60 m. high (pl.9). In the south wall, windows more in the shape of slots, allow daylight into the hospital (pl.8).

The minaret rises from the north-west corner of the building to a present height of 17.60 m. although this was not the original height but only that of the restored minaret under the Ottomans.¹ The top platform is reached first by a flight of thirteen steps along the northern inner wall and second by a spiral staircase within the minaret itself with fifty-nine steps. The three courses of stalactite corbelling below the platform have weathered badly and the carving is barely visible. An almost semi-circular abutment heavily buttresses the north-west corner of the mosque below the minaret. An inscription recorded the addition in the sixteenth century² but is no longer visible.

Interior

The mosque is divided into twenty-five vault units by four rows of massive columns (pl.6). The central axis runs from the north portal to the qibla wall, and to the left of the south oriented mihrāb, there are two openings, a door into the tomb chamber and a window well above ground level. Two windows on either side of the west portal allow some daylight into the mosque. The only other window has been made in the east wall with a sill approximately six metres above the

¹CIA III, 85, No. 52.

²CIA III, 84, No. 51.

ground level owing to the rising slope of the hill on the east side of the structure (pl.14). Of the twenty-five vaults of the mosque seven include structural compositions (pls.18-9) of original design. The dome over the mihrab (ph.76), not a vault, may be noted as an exceptionally sophisticated construction.

The interior plan of the hospital (pl.6) consists of an entrance hall (35) beyond the portal with a barrel-vaulted room with a window on either side of it (30 and 40). Beyond this group of three rooms, the hospital opens into an almost square central court (32, 33, 34) leading to an axial iwān (31) flanked to the north by the tomb chamber (36) and to the south by a plain barrel-vaulted room (26). In the middle of the central court (33) is a pool; on the north-south axis, two smaller iwāns (28 and 38) face each other with a pair of solid stone carved columns in front of them. The two southern chambers have a high light slot in the outside wall.

Just beyond the hall and inside the central court to the right, a flight of thirteen steps leads to the first floor of the hospital which lies across the whole width of the west façade above the hall and its two lateral chambers. An extension towards the east is planned in a succession of three rooms which runs over the south iwān and its lateral chambers (27, 28, 29). Daylight is provided on the front through three windows and an extra one overlooking the central court. On the south side, three slots allow light through the south wall and two proper windows overlook the central court. The vaults of the three iwāns contain structural decoration in the style of those in the mosque (ph.74). The hall and the first floor ceilings show some decoration too. Except for the dome over the tomb chamber (ph.91) and the central part of the first floor ceiling (ph.104), all the other ceilings

are barrel-vaults.

Although the furniture of both parts of the building is of no concern in this context, it has nonetheless been found appropriate at this stage to include a list of it for reference sake. The walnut carved minbar, dated by an inscription to 638/1241-2,¹ stands on its own to the right of the mihrab; another pulpit in the shape of a rough wooden railed platform on four high legs, has been placed by column F. A two-flap wooden door with graceful carving closes the access to the tomb chamber. Five modern rough wooden steps lead up to it. An older looking wooden grill closes the window on the right. A series of handsome old rugs² and kilims complete the furniture of the mosque. In the hospital fragments of three sets of carved shutters have been lined up against the wall and would deserve a special study.

The inscriptions

The first almost complete record of the inscriptions connected with the Great Mosque and Hospital of Divriği^V was made by van Berchem and Edhem³. They in turn refer to the sparse notice by Huart⁴ who acquainted the Société Asiatique in Paris with the two inscriptions from the north portal after M.F.Grenard, the French vice-consul in Sivas had sent him photographic records. Grenard himself, later in 1901, sent a note⁵ in which he mentioned a marble facing for the north

¹CIA III, 81, No. 49.

²Dr. C.G.ELLIS, on his last visit to the mosque in 1972, has recorded rare seventeenth century specimens.

³CIA III, 70-86.

⁴JA, 1901, 343-6.

⁵JA, 1901, 549-58.

portal, and brought to notice the inscriptions on the hospital and west portals.

As for Gabriel, he only makes use of five of the previous inscriptions.¹ Ülgen² points out a thuluth inscription painted on the right hand side of the minbar; Arel³ discusses at length the date of 626 on the north portal as he records at random, and using indifferently both calendars, the various opinions of his colleagues. Finally Sakaoglu⁴ reverts to the standard reading of van Berchem.

No other Anatolian building of the thirteenth century is so well endowed with foundation inscriptions and each of the three portals has a date which is confirmed by the next one. The variations in the naskhi styles of writing should be borne in mind and van Berchem⁵ divides the inscriptions into two types: those following the Ayyūbid style with handsome and firm strokes, and those following the Seljuq one, more compressed and irregular. He further suggests that the style used in the inscription may help to define the origins of the craftsmen used on each carving.

The north portal

1. (a) Amara bi-binā'
- (b) Hādḥā al-Masjid al-Jāmi' li-wajh Allāh ta'ā
- (c) lā al-'abd al-muhtāj ilā rahmat Allāh Ahmad Shāh
ibn Sulaymān Shāh
- (d) Khallad Allāh mulkihi fī tār'/ī 7kh sanat
- (e) sitta /wa/ 'ishrīn /wa/ sitta mi'a

¹MTA II, 187-8.

²VD, V, 93-8.

³VD, V, 99-125.

⁴N. SAKAOGLU, Mengücek oğulları, 1971, 182 and 202.

⁵CIA III, 6, i.

"In the name of God most High, this congregation mosque was ordered to be built by the slave Aḥmad Shāh son of Sulaymān Shāh who begs God's mercy; may God perpetuate his reign, in the year 626 " (1228-9 A.D.)

Inscription band in the doorway niche following the contour on five successive panels (a, b, c, d, e). One line of bold Seljuq naskhī against a band of foliated scroll (50, ph.3). Published by Huart,¹ van Berchem,² and Gabriel.³

2. Fī ayyām dawlat /al-Sulṭān/ ala/-'zam/
'alā al-dunyā wa'l-Dīn Kay-Qubādh ibn Kay-Khusrū Qasīm
Amīr al-Mu'minīn

"In the reign of the great sultan Kay-Qubādh son of Kay-Khusrū, the Associate of the Commander of the Faithful."

Very plain Seljuq naskhī on two lines with no decoration on the background, carved on a broken slab of stone set in the soffit of the star band (52-3, ph.4). Published by Huart,⁴ van Berchem,⁵ and Gabriel.⁶

3. Allāh lā ilāha illā huwa al-ḥayy al-Qayyūm lā ta'khudhu
sinat wa lā nawm

"God, there is no God but He, the Living, the Eternal, He is immune to slumber and sleep."

¹JA, 1901, 345.

²CIA III, 73, No. 41.

³MTA II, 87.

⁴JA, 1901, 345.

⁵CIA III, 75, No. 42.

⁶MTA II, 87.

4. Allāh lā ilāha illā huwa al-ḥayy al-Qayyūm lā ta'khudhuhu

"God, there is no God but He, the Living, the Eternal, He is immune."

Both inscriptions 3 and 4 are from the second Sūra of the Qur'ān, verse 256. The Seljuq naskhī runs in one line along the top of both capitals of the main pilasters of the north portal. The shorter inscription is on the left capital. Incompletely published by van Berchem.¹ (35phs. 22-3).

5. Bismi Allāh bismi Allāh

"In the name of God, in the name of God."

This double inscription is contained in four polygons below the hexagon above the doorway. It is in Seljuq naskhī and the right one has been written in the wrong order (49, ph.29).

The west portal

1. Awwal man assasa bunyān hādihā al-Masjid al-Jāmi' al-
mubārak ibtighā li-marqāt Allāh ta'ālā
al-'abd al-da'if al-muhtāj ilā rahmat Allāh Ahmad
Shāh ibn Sulaymān Shāh ibn Shāhanshāh naṣīr Amīr
al-Mu'minīn
khallad Allāh mulkihi wa dā'afa qadrah fī aḥd shuhūr
sanat sittā wa 'ishrīn wa sittā mi'a

"He who first laid the foundations of this blessed congregation mosque hoping to please God Almighty, is the poor slave longing for the mercy of God, Ahmad Shāh son of Sulaymān Shāh son of Shāhanshāh the Supporter of the Commander of the Faithful. May God perpetuate

¹CIA III, 85-6.

his reign and increase his worthiness, in one of the months of the year 626." (1228-9 A.D.)

Inscription panel above the patterned lintel of the doorway in Ayyūbid naskhī on three lines with no background decoration. Published by Grenard,¹ van Berchem,² and Gabriel³ (62, ph.5).

2. On the first band at the top of both the shafts of the pilasters, the name of Allāh is repeated several times, carved at an angle on the left one, and on a horizontal level on the right one, in a coarse broad modified kūfic (64, ph.33).

The hospital portal

Amarat bi 'imārat hādhihi al-Dār al-Shifā al-Mubāraka
ibtighā li-marqāt Allāh al-Malika al-'Ādila
al-Muhtajāt ilā Allāh Tūrān Malik ibnat al-Malik al-Sa'īd
Fakhr al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh
taqabbala Allāh minhā Amīn fī aḥd shuhūr 626

"In the hope of pleasing God, the virtuous Tūrān Malik daughter of al-Malik al-Sa'īd Fakhr al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh ordered the building of this Blessed Hospital, may God accept lit from her, so be it, in one of the months of the year 626 " (1228-9 A.D.)

Inscription panel below the first floor window on three lines with no background decoration, in Ayyūbid naskhī. Published by Grenard,⁴ van Berchem⁵ and Gabriel⁶ (86, ph.6).

¹JA, 1901, 552.

²CIA III, 74, No. 34.

³MTA II, 187.

⁴JA, 1901, 552.

⁵CIA III, 77, No. 44.

⁶MTA II, 187.

The east window

Al-mulk lil-lāh al-wāhid al-qahhār 'amala Ahmad /Two words/

"Whose is the Kingdom today? 'God's, the One, the omnipotent, made by Ahmad ..."

One line inscription from Sūra 40, 16, in Ayyūbid naskhī on a background of foliated scroll below the last row of alveoles of the window niche. Published by van Berchem,¹ Gabriel² and Mayer³ (75, ph.7).

Ottoman inscriptions

Van Berchem recorded five inscriptions on the abutment for the north-west corner of the mosque and one above the door into the minaret on the roof of the mosque.⁴

1. This inscription called cartouche (a) by van Berchem, has disappeared. It contained a quotation from Sūra 1, 4.

2. Cartouche (c) is difficult to decipher and only 'ik lahu lahu al-malik' may be safely read (ph. 8) and could be part of Sūra 17, 13.

"Praise belongs to God, who has not taken to him a son"

3. Roundel (b) (ph. 8)

Allāhumma ṣallaya 'alā Muḥammad al-Nabiyya
al-Umiyya al-Arabiyya al-Makkiyya al-Madaniyya
āl-Ḥāshimiyya al-Qurayshiyya al-Tuhāmiyya
al-Zamzamiyya wa 'alā Alihī wa Aṣḥābiḥī

"O God, bless Muḥammad, the Illiterate, the Arab, the Meccan, the Medinite, the Hashimite, the Quraishite, the Tehamite, the Zemzamite, prophet of his family and companions."⁵

¹CIA III, 79, No. 45.

²MTA II, 187.

³IA, 40.

⁴CIA III, 83-6.

⁵D. Cowan very kindly pointed out that generally speaking it is unusual in the Islamic world to make use of the whole list of epithets.

4. Roundel (d) is on the north side of the abutment with an inscription on three lines¹ (ph.9).

Fi ayyām dawlat al-Malik

al-Muzaffar Sultān Shāh Sulaymān ibn al-Malik al-Marḥūm

Sultān Shāh Salīm Khān

"In the days of the reign of the victorious king, sultan Shāh Sulaymān son of the late king sultan Shāh Salīm Khān."

5. A roundel recorded by van Berchem is no longer extant.² The text on two lines gave the name of the builder responsible for the abutment, one Ibrāhīm son of Aḥmad, as well as a date which could read as any year between 1523 and 1533.

6. Unfinished inscription on one line above the door of the minaret on the roof of the mosque now blocked up and inaccessible. It is partly hidden by the new zinc roof which stands well above the old flat roof level.³

'Amara al-Sultān al-'Adil Sultān Sulaymān ibn Salīm

khallada [Allāh] mulkah

"Ordered by the just sultan Sulaymān son of Salīm, may [God] perpetuate his kingdom..."

Interior inscriptions

Hospital: A cartouche at the apex of the main iwān facing west in plain naskhī⁴ (131, ph.10).

¹CIA III, 84, No. 50.

²CIA III, 84, No. 51.

³CIA III, 85, No. 52.

⁴CIA III, 80, No. 47.

'amal Khūrshāh a/ī/-Akhlātī

"The work of Khūrshāh from Akhlāt."

It should be noticed that van Berchem and all after him have given the name of Khurremshāh to the architect of the building. A close look at the inscription does not reveal any mīm in the spelling and therefore a new reading of the name is suggested to replace the previous one, that of Khūrshāh.

Mosque:

1. A cartouche at the centre of the intrados to the arch joining the gibla wall to column C. On two lines in naskhī, published by van Berchem,¹ Gabriel² and Mayer.³

'Amal Khūrshāh ibn Mughīth al-Akhlātī

"The work of Khūrshāh, son of Mughīth from Akhlāt. "

Lack of light made it impossible to take a clear photograph of the above inscription, nonetheless van Berchem's reading of it seems reasonable all the more that it tallies with the inscription in the hospital.

2. An inscription of two lines on column L in naskhī, unpublished (ph.11).

Bismi Allāh al-Raḥman al-Raḥīm tabāarak alladhī ja'al /three words/
wa 'inna al-masājid li Allāh falā tad'ū /min dū/n Allāh
aḥadā ṣadaq Allāh /al-'azīm/

"In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate, Blessed

¹CIA III, 79, No.46.

²MTA II, 187.

³IA, 82-3.

he who made three words

And mosques are for God thus do not call anyone but Him God most Great is truthful."

3. The short unpublished inscription in naskhī on the lower part of the shaft of column K (ph. 12), may be transliterated in two ways: Either Naṣr Ullāh al-khatīb or Naṣara Allāh al-khatīb. In the first case, Naṣr Ullāh could be understood as the name of the preacher, in the second case, as an invocation to God for His help to be bestowed on the preacher whatever his name may be.

"May God help the preacher."

After serious investigations to try to decide between the two possibilities, two points may be made. First, as far as it is known, no other inscription inside a mosque with the name of a preacher has yet come to light and, second, it seems rather improbable that in view of the Muslim faith, one of its preachers in a remote province, rather than humbling himself in the eyes of God, should have the audacity to sign his name inside His place of worship.¹

4. Painted inscription in Ottoman naskhī between the minbar and the west wall. Unpublished (pl. 13).

Bismi Allāh al-Raḥman al-Raḥīm allādhīn yaqūlūna rabbanā
innanā āmannā fa-ighfir lanā dhnūbanā wa qinā 'adhāb al-
nār al-ṣābirīna wa'l-ṣādiqīna wa'l-qānitīna wa'l-munfiqīn
wa'l-mustaghfirīn bi al-aṣḥār ṣadaq Allāh al-'Azīm

"In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate, those who say, 'Our Lord, we believe; forgive us our sins and guard us against the chastisement of the Fire' - men who are patient, truthful, obedient, expender in alms, imploring God's pardon at the daybreak. God

¹The Christian approach to famous preachers and their sermons such as Bossuet's at the court of Louis XIV, does not apply in the sixth/thirteenth century in Islamic Anatolia.

is most truthful."¹

5. Small painted cartouche above the previous inscription, unpublished.

One word al-Faqīr Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad

"Work of the poor Aḥmad son of Muḥammad."

The Waqf

An Ottoman copy of a waqf hangs under glass in the hospital (ph.120). The text appears to be very similar to that published by van Berchem² (ph.121) where it is written that Aḥmad Shāh and his mother Faṭīmah Khātūn constituted a waqf for both buildings in the middle of the month of Muḥarram of the year 641/July 1243. The question arises why the name of Aḥmad Shāh's mother and not that of his wife Tūrān Malik should appear on the act. It may be suggested that, following the annexation of her father's territories in Erzincan after his death,³ Tūrān Malik, having invested most of her resources in the building of the hospital, could not further endow the building. On the other hand, the Ottoman copy of the 641/1243 waqf may happen to be the only surviving one of a whole series, as it is customary for a religious building in Islam to be endowed regularly over a period of time. Consequently there is no reason to think that Tūrān Malik might not have endowed the hospital she built, well before the Mongol invasion.

Besides the endowment the text brings to notice a list of various people engaged mainly in the life of the mosque and likely to be paid from the income of the waqf. They would be the imāms, the preachers, the muezzins, the readers of the Qurʾān in the mosque and the tomb chamber, the men in charge of the prayer rugs, the caretaker, the cleaner and the accountant. This waqf was constituted within ten days of Köse Dāğ^v, 6 Muḥarram 641 A.H. and appears to stress the will of the founder and his mother to endow the two buildings for survival.

¹Qurʾān, sūra III, 15-6. A.J.ARBERRY, The Koran interpreted, 1955, 47.

²CIA III, 82-3, 107-10, Appendix III.

³Tūrān Malik was the daughter of the Mangujakid Fakhr ad-Dīn Bahrām Shāh who died in 622/1225; his son retained his lands only for a few months before Kay-Qubādh I annexed them.

Chapter Three

EXTERIOR OF THE BUILDING

A look at the whole structure of the Great Mosque and Hospital in Divrigi^V from the citadel hill (ph.1) reveals the coherence of the building despite its dual function, but unfortunately it also brings into view the great expanse of zinc roofing which now covers it completely and also the semi-circular mass of the Ottoman stone abutment on the north-west corner of the mosque.

Before the description and analysis of the portals and adjacent walls, it seems appropriate to try and reconstruct the original appearance of the roofing and the minaret. Two series of photographs may help to reconstruct the variable outline of the roof; the first series was brought together by van Berchem¹ and Edhem records in his correspondence that the views had all been taken between 10 and 16 August 1906.² The second series was presumably taken almost sixty years later when Ülgen published them.³ Both series show the complex relief of the whole roof, sometimes higher when it reflects the main iwan of the hospital, or lower, when it corresponds to a plain barrel vault. A kind of abutment for the pyramidal roof of the mihrab dome makes up the roof over vaults 4 and 5. Primitive domes cover vaults 10, 14, 15, 19 and 20; they may have been constructed at the time

¹CIA III, pls. 34-41.

²Professor Anouar Louca, in charge of the archives of van Berchem in the Bibliothèque Municipale et Universitaire in Geneva kindly made the above information available.

³VD, V, 93-8.

of the Ottoman restoration. It is difficult to decide whether vaults 24 and 25 also had an outer dome. On the photograph of the western elevation¹ no dome is visible behind the parapet. Ülgen's record² confirms this point.

This same photograph gives a good idea of the traditional earth finish on the roofs of such buildings which often show signs in the summer of being covered with vegetation. It is customary to renew the earth lining regularly if not every year. Since baking sun during hot summers makes the earth contract, the roof develops cracks and the first winter rains pour through the cracks. To remedy this state of affairs, the whole monument was covered in a new zinc sheeting over a timber frame; added gutters now drain off surplus water. The level of the roof having thus risen, only seven out of the nine top courses of stone at the back of the north portal are now visible, the two windows of the mihrab dome look into the dark expanse of the new attic and provide no more daylight. Up to the early 1960s there was only one pleated³ pyramidal roof of stone slabs over the mihrab dome. In the last restoration another roof of the same type but with flush facing has been added over the tomb chamber to replace an octagonal slanting tiled roof; it was set on an octagonal drum. Two more roof covers of the latter type with higher drums, covered the centre of each building, but have also been replaced with two large oculi with glass panes.

On the basis of the minaret of the 'Alā' ad-Dīn mosque in Niğde dated 620/1223-4, which still retains its original shape, a similar

¹CIA III, 34.

²VD, V, ph.10.

³With two folds to each side of the octagonal pyramid.

one in Divrigi^V would have had, as in present times, a square base rising into an octagon decorated with eight blind arches (ph.14); in Nigde^V, the arches are picked out by a band with a wicker-work pattern and it is possible that the only re-employed carved stone below the stalactite balcony of the Divrigi^V minaret is all that remains of such a blind arch pattern (ph.16.).

The circular shaft of the minaret would start with an octagonal or round moulding. As to the visible octagonal transition in Divrigi^V from the square base to the shaft, this consists of a circle of eight pendentives slightly in relief which outlines eight shallow arches (ph.18). Above it there are two courses of stone before a plain moulding and the main part of the shaft. This seems to have been a standard practice in constructing minarets during the Ottoman period as may be noticed both in the free-standing minaret beside the Great Mosque in Malatya (ph.15), and in the restored minaret of the mosque near the school (ph.17) in Eski Malatya. The pencil-shaped top of the minaret starts at the platform level with an open doorway to the spiral staircase, all built of fairly rough blocks of stone.

Whether or not earthquakes or the mere stress of intricate vaulting combined with the additional weight of the minaret were responsible for the collapse of the structure and the vaults adjacent to it, the fact remains that under Sulaymān the Great the cumbersome abutment was added to the corner of the mosque; it starts at the limit of the last window on the west elevation and rounds the corner not in a true circular plan but overlapping more on the north elevation side (pl.5.).

Further restoration must have taken place since it has been noticed that one cartouche and one roundel (25-6) are no longer visible

the abutment although both were recorded and published by van Berchem. The present stone facing does not show any disruption and the rustication appears to be fairly new.

North portal

The north portal (pl.11, ph.19) rising well above the level of the roof to a height of 13.60 m. and its broad front, 12.10 m. wide, stands out boldly from the wall especially when seen from the citadel hill. The outline and size of such a portal comes much closer to the traditional eastern pīshṭāq than the more sober arrangement of the west portal into the Great Mosque. Three pairs of totally different pillars bring the almost square shape inwards towards the ogee arch of the actual doorway. Although the first impression is one of great complexity, the portal may be divided quite simply into five main frames and the doorway which may be analysed in two parts.

First frame: The first frame consists of an outer shaft placed slightly in recess of the whole portal (ph.21); it comes forwards and across the front as it reaches the full height of the portal. This horizontal part is carved with a row of thirty-two eight-pointed stars which project over a recessed plain stone course. The junction of the two vertical shafts is not marked by a connecting star but by a small roundel filled with a geometrical pattern seen on the capitals on the west portal (ph.33). Whereas the horizontal part only shows the outline of a second row of stars recessed below the first one, when it comes to the vertical shafts, two rows of stars at right angles run boldly down nine-tenths of the length; they come to a conclusion in a stylised fan shape (ph.20). An unfinished beading indicates a planned frame which was meant to contain both rows all

the way down each shaft. Every star is linked to the next one by a decorated lozenge. In turn a group of four stars and two lozenges make up a plain star, shaped in recess. All forty-six stars on either side have a different pattern within their double outlined shape. These patterns belong to the leaf repertoire whether or not arranged into arabesques or a figure of eight; some have elaborate compositions and others are just indicated by shallow carving.

Second frame: The pair of pillars which shapes the true outline of the portal stands out from the doorway by about four metres. The whole portal now rests on a plinth; its sharp edge has been levelled into a narrow band carved with a leaf meander in parts or just with a simplified figure of eight most of which is still unfinished. The upper part of the frame is a broad moulding with an inner recessed flat border line carved out of the same block of stone. The two vertical parts terminate just under a narrow but visible gap in the moulding above a cluster of five unfinished profiled lotus flowers, on a level with the lower line of the Kay-Qubādh inscription (ph.19).

Below this level, the pillar construction bears no relation to any other composite assemblage of this nature. It may be tentatively submitted that at some stage of the planning, the upper half was replaced by the lower half as may be verified by a tracing. As it is now, the cluster of pilasters (ph.22) looks rather clumsy and top heavy. Whatever may be the case, the upper cluster of five gathered pilasters terminates in a narrower and unsatisfactory flower composition. Following the same line of interpretation, the inverted capital which acts as a base is made up of broad chevron moulding which follows the contour initiated by the five gathered pilasters. Five

superficial dividing lines fill the hollow parts between the mouldings until they join together further down into an interlacing motif with stylised lotus flowers. A broader chevron element leads to the top of the inverted capital which finally spreads out into five sections and ends in a large plain band.

A narrower band of the same shape underlines the start of the next capital belonging to the lower single shaft pillar. This band encloses, between two flat borders, a sinuous line of simple curled leaves. It projects over the slightly recessed broad Qur'ānic inscription, which in fact does not take up the whole length. At the beginning and end where it would be difficult to pick out an inscription, the calligraphy has been replaced by a closed arabesque of small lotus flowers and curled leaves (ph.22). A stylised astragal of lotus buds runs below the underlining band of the inscription. The next moulding is a horizontal prolongation of an element belonging to the geometrical pattern of the third frame; with a lower moulding, it encloses a curled double leaf arabesque. Finally the level of five alveoles is reached with an elaborate flower composition in the shape of a Y between each of them. Below a garland of buds and blossoms follow the contour. The last five small brackets of the capital are recessed with alveoles outlined on the ridges. A final moulding leads to a rather slender shaft which looks ineffectual after the elaboration of the capital.

The base in both cases does not match up with the rest of the composition. It consists of one block of stone with the upper corners cut off at an angle; three five-sided receding steps lead up to a tore which in turns gives way to the last two receding mouldings. The presence of such a pair of pillars will be dealt with in the discussion on the second pair.

Third frame: The third frame, well recessed, also follows a rectangular outline and the motif is a treble-stepped angle; it faces outwards and joins on to the next one with a firm base line. Free spaces around the pattern are filled by a continuous link motif of long leaves and lotus flowers. The pattern repeats nine times across the top, eight times down the left side and nine times down the right. Both capitals from the previous frame impinge on the pattern which lends it one horizontal moulding (ph.22). The major sculpture of the fourth frame half overlaps the central stepped angle. There is no continuity in the pattern round the corners, the angles finishing abruptly in a contracted form if there is insufficient space, while the lowest line blends in neatly with the leaf link pattern because of its more prominent position. This kind of stepped angle forms part of a group also to be encountered in the first frame of the west portal. Here, however, the treatment is much more elaborate, the whole design broader and the moulding well undercut.

Fourth frame: The fourth frame can hardly be given a plain title; it is the most original composition of sculptured stone to decorate any Anatolian portal. In order to clarify such an unusual grouping of sculptures, it will be found simpler to deal with it in two stages, first the two parallel vertical compositions (pl.12) and second, the five sculptures across the top part. Both vertical compositions are remarkably alike despite the difficult problem of matching stone shapes for carving on either side. The achievement is all the more striking that the shapes alter from one group to the next and no two outlines are quite the same. A closer analysis allows a more rigorous organisation within each group. Starting from the plinth, the first group spreads vertically on three levels, then the first pair of roundels

makes a halt before the explosion of the second group; nonetheless it may still be divided into three parts. The second pair of roundels gives way to the third and last group, again constructed in three levels. As a result of these divisions, both vertical compositions may be reduced to three groups of sculpture separated from one another by a sobering roundel. The two pairs of roundels relay the geometric feeling from the outer double-star moulding to the inner eight-pointed star-lined arch. The rest of the surface carving belongs to the leaf and flower repertoire.

Two further points should be made. The word sculpture has been used to stress the emphasis on relief given to these compositions. In contrast to this quality, it is noticeable that the elements of decoration which fill the outward looking surfaces of each sculpture, do not maintain this feeling of depth; on the contrary, they appear to want to flatten it out. As a final point, although some of the sculptures overlap into the second frame, as in the second and third groups, especially on the right, the whole decoration moves towards the centre beyond and over the slender pillar and its upper moulding which lines the eight-pointed star ornamented arch. As an added visual emphasis, the second group detracts from the vertical movement of the arch even making it appear broader by taking the fold of the largest leaf beyond the limit of the moulding above the smaller capital (ph.23).

The lower pair of roundels appears to be the flattest carving of the whole composition although each one is in relief. The fact that it occupies the whole width of the frame and has only one level, accounts for this impression. The geometric pattern is of a rather simple wicker-work style: two thin parallel lines cross in groups

of three to shape a six-pointed star. In the left roundel, the star has made way for a stylised lotus flower with two leaves and an upper bud (ph.22). On the right roundel the parallel lines run across the central composition; furthermore an attempt has been made to include elongated leaves in eight places around the centre and a circular background pattern is just visible under the wicker-work mesh. The basic treatment of such a roundel belongs to the repertoire of terracotta patterns which has spread from Transoxiana to Anatolia, whether it is enclosed between parallel mouldings or within a roundel. The minaret of Jām illustrates the latter case with its varied medallions (ph.24) and in the mausoleum of Yūsuf ibn Kathīr in Āzarbāijān, 557/1162-3 the pattern is enclosed in a broad rectangular panel above the entrance.¹ To integrate the roundel into the whole scheme, a surrounding band of leaf-and-tendrill motif runs around it with an outer sinuous line decreasing in width as it reaches higher. The band itself emerges from a four-leaf cup shape. A similar treatment does not seem to have been so successfully implemented around the left roundel.

In the upper pair of roundels, the crescent hooding gives the circle a greater relief. The inner leaf and tendrill garland follows the decreasing shape of the crescent to its lower central part. Every hexagonal shape inside the circle is marked out by the crossing of small recessed ribs and contains a different flower or leaf composition as well as the central six-pointed star. In both cases some plain wall surface is visible on either side.

¹F. SARRE, Denkmäler Persischer Baukunst, Berlin, 1910, 9-11.

Turning now to the three groups (pl.12), it is worth noticing that they are in no way restricted to a framed outline as would be the case in any other large decorative composition. They outgrow the two columns; the sense of freedom goes as far as carving the lower group so that it gives the impression of lying over a narrower frame of crosses and pearls in the background. With the right side in a better state of preservation, both sides follow very much the same outline. In contrast to the two other groups, the first one gives a greater feeling of lightness and space by the choice of outlines which allow more background to be seen. The two lower elements, a remarkably stylised composition of elongated leaves and flowers, combine in four concentric movements, two of which are just above plinth level and the next two one on top of the other. In the lower crescent, six visible trilobed recesses look like the nearest carving possible to a lam-alif pattern, although they do not seem to have been consciously planned in that way. (ph.113) The semi-circular canopy to the central flower contains two types of patterns, one is the recurrent loaf and bud theme and the other, although meant to be small rounded leaves, resembles the scales of some exotic animal. On account of lack of space, the two long stems to the elongated leaves on either side of the canopy have taken on a very angular and spindly shape. A small ribbed vase with a splayed foot stands on the apex of the canopy as the link with the last element of this group. Three separate parts emerge from the vase; the central element with an ornate ring leads to the cup-shaped base of the first roundel, and the two stalks develop into the two halves of a flower. These spread out with an added curled-in leaf and meet again at the outer limit of the base to the first roundel. Although

less well integrated than the two lower elements, the split flower has been carved with the greatest care for detail in the treatment of the sepals and stamens.

The two pairs of roundels limit the second group. It is by far the most elaborate of the three and expands implicitly beyond the limits normally to be expected. It may be divided into two parts. The top part only contains the one sculpture of a highly stylised flower and the base of its stalk may have been intended as a small vase but appears unfinished. The flower itself consists of two lateral petals and a central bud well set together and three pairs of enclosing leaves with extensive volutes and fine carving. There is more apparent grace in the left flower which just comes into contact with the enlarged bud below it. Both flowers are approximately the same size, both touching lightly on the lower part of the second roundel with the two tips of their upper leaves. The total height coincides almost exactly with the width of the main inscription on the portal.

The lower part of the second group spreads out in two directions. On one side it completely swings over the central arch, on the other it reaches towards the second frame; this is especially noticeable on the right side (ph.23). There is a more symmetrical approach to the whole composition on the left side. Two double lobed leaves with curled ends almost escape from the top of the first roundel. Between their stalks, a small ornate bud rises and gives way to two broad leaves and volutes, the tips of which meet again in two broadened shapes. At this stage, a larger and strikingly convex bud reaches as far as the upper flower of this ensemble already described. A row of pearl motif lines its top. The left bud overshadows two innocuous

leaves in the background. The right one is larger, without leaves and set more to the right because of the overstretching of the giant leaf (ph.22).

It is to be wondered why such extreme fantasy occurs at this level of the portal and what significance if any is to be attached to so unpredictable an effusion. On both sides, the point of departure for the two giant leaf sculptures is the top of the capital to the inner frame of the portal which functions in the manner of a vase. A stem rises from it along the rib and then curls down into a compact leaf over the eight-pointed star band. From its stem, a small volute turns in towards the first roundel. As to the two giant leaves themselves, it could be submitted that the effect intended was that of a wind-blown banner. In neither case does the leaf connect up with any part of the general composition. On the right its point of emergence is made up of a sinuous line with two notches at the base, then it curls on to the broad surface of the leaf. The stem of the left giant leaf resembles the narrow base of a palm tree (ph.22). Neither truly relates to the overblown leaf to which they lead. The originality of the design consists in having been almost literally as it were blown into shape, each leaf folds and falls over into the sculptured frame, and the fold which is parallel to the line of the ribbed arch bends at right angles beyond it. The leaf then becomes two inward curling large volutes without any flower, leaf or tendril infillings and is thus in contrast with the main body. The whole of the carving is done in a minimum of four levels especially noticeable on the two volutes which display an almost art nouveau character perhaps due to its unfinished condition. At this particular stage, it seems as though the carvers, despite

their incredible skill, a fact already remarked upon, could not quite meet the challenge of what must have been too large a block of stone. Similar to the decoration of the right hand of the mihrab panel, the right giant leaf overreaches and does not fit in with the rest of the floral composition. It could be suggested that beyond a certain stage of extreme fantasy the carver could no longer compete with the general scheme of the planner. The proposed plan was presumably too ambitious; it was never tackled again in any other building. On all later monuments of the period, there is no comparable attempt and within twenty years the whole style settled down to an almost codified set of motifs exemplified in the well-known medreses of Sivas and Erzerum.

The third and last group above the second roundel also consists of three elements. First, two leaves emerge and spread out from the top of the roundel with longer stalks on the left side. In both cases, the outer leaf reaches into the third frame, but the carving of the inner leaf has been reduced to a smaller size. Two much smaller leaves rise from the lower part of the main ones, and in a graceful curve they swing back to join together below a crescent knot which marks the start of another pair of beautifully carved leaves. They spread apart to allow enough space for a bud, then they swing back, become narrower and terminate in a curled element; two added ornate triangles finish the enclosing movement and twist into a knot which gives way to the third element of this last group, set out on two levels. The lower one is a version of the bud and flower type, thinner in the stem and looped on either side of the central frame of the bud. From the tip of this frame, two spreading angular and shallow carved leaves set another frame for the upper level of

the last element, which joins the horizontal group of five sculptured elements at the top of the portal. Unfortunately parts of the left half are unfinished as well as the inner carving of the right end sculpture. These have been roughly etched into a geometrical pattern made up of two diagonal crosses joining into a square; the intervals are filled, as far as can be seen, with a leaf and tendril pattern.

On either side of the terminating ribbed arch, two plain surfaces of dressed stone clearly stand out from the rest of the sculptures. The surfaces end in a salient line, the right line at a lower level than the left one. It may be suggested that, once carved, these two spaces would have been filled with the linking elements joining the five horizontal sculptures together. As it is, these elements stand side by side unconnected, unlike both vertical compositions, but rather similar to the lotus flowers over the mihrāb. The three central flowers are in fact lotuses and the two outer six-pointed stars recall the two pairs of roundels but here they are framed by two split leaves which meet round the top. The star itself is lined out by a mesh of small ribs, enclosing buds and leaf motifs. The middle of each of the six sides takes on an angular shape.

The carving of the flowers on either side of the central lotus flower relates to the large buds of the two vertical compositions with the addition of three pairs of outlined broad leaves, a corolla of three elements and the central part of the flower carved into yet another flower pattern. As to the central lotus flower (ph.25), skillfully made up of two separate stones, it crowns the ribbed arch of the doorway creating the same visual impact as the cable twist on the east window (ph. 39), although it is closer in spirit to the stucco

central ornament of certain mihṛābs exemplified by the khāngāh of Shaykh Khurāsān in the Nakhchivān area¹ or to the stucco palmettes in the mosque of Qurva at the apex of the arches of the zone of transition to the dome.² On the north portal of the Great Mosque in Div-rigi the lotus flower decorates emphatically the culminating point of the whole composition, rests comfortably at its summit and spreads forth its wholesome set of petals. Each of their undulating surfaces is carved in its central part with interlacing leaves and tendrils. The remaining undecorated surface acts as a plain broad frame around the carving. The heart of the lotus flower itself consists of an almost fussy arrangement of fully carved leaves with curled tips.

Despite the luxuriance of the fourth frame which spills over the limits assigned to it by the two first pillars, a progressive rhythmical feeling may be detected through the analysis of the balanced grouping in the carved compositions and in the precise placing of the four roundels, two on the vertical parts of the frame and two on the horizontal part. If joined together by an imaginary line they stress the contour of the arch shape (pl.11). Turning to the compositions between the roundels which go by groups of three superposed elements, it is possible to reduce their outline to three standard patterns of arabesque allowing for the excessive projections in each composition (pl.12). Based on a double spiral each arabesque consists of the circumvolutions of two entwined spirals on three successive levels. In addition, every vegetal element of sufficient width may contain a subsidiary spiral design which would emphasize even more the geometrical lay-out. Finally, the two vertical panels may have some connection with a tree-of-life design although the

¹L.S.BRETANISKY, Zodchestvo Azerbaidzhana XII-XV vv., Moscow, 1966, 123, ph.59.

²R.HILLENBRAND, "Saljūq monuments in Iran", I, Oriental Art, NS, 18, 2, 1972, 69, pl.9.

links between each part are rather haphazard. A more striking point is the alternating movement of enclosing and enfolding of buds, leaves and lotus flowers. This dual movement gives a continuing rhythmical quality to this exuberant composition, never to be repeated.

Fifth frame: The ribbed arch which contains the fifth frame, broadens towards its apex and receives added emphasis in its lower part by the addition of a capital on either side which transforms it into an engaged column. On the right, half of the column and the base have disappeared; on the left, most of the column has been worn away although the slender base stands out visibly on four sides; two successive and receding layers above the base have hardly been carved out of the protruding stone. As noticed earlier, the upper part of the two capitals is used as a point of departure for a large leaf which spreads over the star frame, lining the ribbed arch. Both leaves are held in position by a modern metal retaining band which prevents them from breaking off from their frail stem of stone. Each capital consists of five levels; a double ring at the base supports a row of small mugarnas which in turn supports the next wider band of inverted triangles, the carved ones coinciding with overlapping elements. A double line marks the separation with the next row of elongated triangles in pairs. Their pointed angles underline the shape of the capital to the largest band which is made of a regular arched pattern enclosing finely sculpted leaves in recess. The small arches are in fact the lower part of bent leaves in relief. This type of capital plays no supporting role in the traditional sense but only relieves the plain line of the ribbing and gives it an added emphasis. The plain moulding is resumed above the two giant leaves.

The fifth frame of large eight-pointed stars (ph.26) strengthens the arch feeling as it is enclosed by the moulding of the arch. Allowance being made for the overlapping leaves, the possible number of stars amounts to thirty, fifteen on either side of the apex; each pair of opposite points almost touches the next pair of the following star. The space between the eight points has been carved with great intricacy. Elongated lozenges join the points two by two and create in effect a series of five-branched stars on either side of the general axis of the frame. Two pairs of leaves in opposition fill the ribbed outline of the lozenges; in some, the background has not been completely carved out and there remains a regular pattern of carving holes. The space enclosed between the two points of a star and the two sides of a lozenge each contains parts of two circles which form the background to each large star. The main circle consists of a wide band dotted with small scales whereas the second one is only a small superimposed rib with a round leaf element in the middle of every space. Finally the two elongated small triangles beyond the outer part of the large circle each have a double leaf with a curled tip. Every one of the eight points in the large stars has a carved bud composition within its double-moulded outline. The octagon, recessed three times towards the centre, encloses a composition of leaves and palmettes which varies from one star to the other, and here again, the background is still dotted with carving holes.

Some extra decoration occasionally lines the star band in such recessed spaces as along the vertical sides of the inscription and the two bands above it. The outer part of the band towards the apex of the moulding is lined by what may be justifiably termed an ace of spades, enclosed in recessed small pointed arches. The base stone of

the star band on either side is carved with two trefoils each containing a lotus flower which is more recognizable on the left side than on the right.

Doorway, first part: The rectangular door frame below the inscription and within the two vertical bands of stars, has been conceived as a far stronger and heavier moulding than that of the ribbed arch. Although without capitals, the vertical elements may be interpreted as semi-engaged columns through the well-shaped bases of almost equal width as the implied columns. A roughly carved broader stone acts as an extra plinth, identical in height with the base stone of the star band but without any carving. The lower part of the base is outlined by a horizontal double cable with two twists at either end, and above it, a recessed band contains a row of twelve beads limited by a tore. From this level the base is carved into a broad vase shape coming in towards the neck and then slightly flaring out again. The lower part of the shaft carved into four lobes, rests on the rim of the vase. Indian influence¹ has been put forward to explain these vase-shaped tores, but there is no reason to deny a much closer origin for such forms; it may be found on portals and door frames of churches in north-east Turkey as early as the eleventh century and may be seen in a simple form in the cathedral of Ani, 989-1001 (ph.27), or in the monasteries of the Tao region.² (ph.28)

The broad moulding turns inwards at right angles to frame the

¹ MTA II, 182; VD, V, 106.

² D. WINFIELD, "Some early medieval figure sculpture from north-east Turkey", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 31, 1968, pls. 29b, 31a.

side panels of the entrance as well as the door panel. A possible interpretation of the three panels carved in a continuous pattern may be drawn from the east window (ph.39) where the plaiting of three smooth cables at sharp angles makes up the shafts on either side of the window. In the case of the north portal, the vertical bevelled cables are no longer contiguous (69) but spaced out and, with their horizontal elements, they mark out rectangular and star-shaped spaces containing carved lotus flowers, leaves and buds, some of them only in a sketched form (ph.19). Similar four-pointed stars with slightly bent extremities are found in the mihṛāb iwān of the Hatuniya medrese in Mardin, dated to the second half of the twelfth century.¹ This type of cable pattern naturally suggests wood-carving and the comparison is to be expected since the same craftsman could apply his skill to stone as well as to wood-carving.² The sharp angles of the edges indicates the breaking off and displacing of the vertical movement to one side at each new level. The visible profile of both side panels has also been carefully carved to carry through the pattern thus giving them a truly three-dimensional treatment. On both side panels, added relief consists of a slender vertical composition emerging from a small vase in a naturalistic if incongruous manner; it hardly recalls a tree-of-life.³ As to the cable pattern, only two further examples are known in Kayseri, both dated later: in the portal lateral niches of the

¹AM II, 322, pl.19b.

²IA, 27.

³G. ÖNEY, "Le motif de l'arbre de la vie dans l'art seljoucide d'Anatolie", Belleten, 33, 1968, 25-36.

Huand medrese and Hacı Kiliç medrese, dated 635/1237-8 and 647/1249-50.¹

The door opening is vertically framed by a neatly carved band which also encloses the hexagon above the door; the top angle slants inwards and is lined by two outer grooves. The lintel space between the top of the door and the decorated hexagon is filled with a series of neatly fitted polygons each containing one of the two words of the bismi Allāh (ph.29), but to conform with symmetry, the order of the wording on the right side has been reversed, the Allāh coming first. The Allāhs are enclosed in four-sided elements as opposed to five in the case of the bismi, on a background of arabesque, and the writing is similar to that of the top inscription of the north portal. The three remaining spaces are filled in by elongated triangles with double-leaf patterns.

A continuous wide garland of double-lobed inter-twining leaves with buds, frames the hexagonal composition above the door opening. Within the hexagon, an original composition of ribbed lines crossing each other recalls the style of wood carving as seen on minbars more frequently than on stone carving. The central element is star-shaped with an elongated lower vertical part. A closer study of the composition reveals a background of two diagonally crossed bands. Thus the pattern shows no apparent symmetry and a hypothetical repeat would be even more complex than the elaborate star patterns usually found on wood. The various enclaves within the ribbing and the low-relief outlines contain leaf and bud decoration akin to the hexagonal band

¹G. ÖNEY, "Kayseri Hacı Kiliç Cami ve Medresesi", Belleken, 30, 1966, phs. 15a-b.

decoration, and a rather attractive small, regular leaf motif fills the elongated branch of the central star.

Doorway, second part: The upper half of the doorway (ph.30), closing in gradually, is separated from the lower panels by a thick moulding as wide as the frame which terminates in the shape of a vase. The lining above it consists of a more slender slightly recessed moulding which in turn is lined by a narrow band shaped in a loosely plaited rope pattern similar to that on north-eastern Turkish monuments.¹ This band also frames the vertical sides of the monumental inscription. Against a background of wide leaves and lotus flowers in arabesque composition, the broad naskhī inscription runs across a space which follows the contour of the doorway. The frame is bevelled with two narrow grooves on either side, a treatment which serves to stress the importance of the text it contains. No common measure is to be found between this inscription and the very plain one placed on one flat stone slab slightly higher. Usually, an Islamic inscription is carved on a level surface with little or no frame and is seldom required to follow a three-dimensional contour as on the north portal. For the viewer to make sense of such an arrangement, the inscription must be followed through each plane on which it appears, from right to left, in order to comprehend it (ph.3).

The enclosing movement of the doorway becomes more obvious (ph.30) from the top level of the inscription upwards as the niche

¹MLAVE, 105, pl.97.

effect is emphasized; its profile may even suggest the successive overlapping levels of an implied capital, consisting, as it does, of four superimposed bands. The lowest one, slightly concave, is made up of a pattern of lotus flowers interspaced with arched leaves; the next unfinished band is narrower with a zigzag of hollowed-out leaves. Three levels of carving make up the two last bands. The top one recalls the rope carvings across the whole face of the mihṛāb panel (115), with a more involved leaf-and-flower composition in the intervals. The heavily carved flowers of the bottom row alternately rest over the base line or under it, the start of the stem coinciding with an angle pointing downwards. A garland of elongated stylised leaves links one angle to the next. Every second angle is surrounded by a carved crescent knot with a beaded outline and floral reliefs. Garlands and knots decorate the surface of a double thick moulding interspaced by a concave rectangular band with sharp edges. It is possibly meant to recall the double moulding below the main inscription band. Fragments of this composition are also unfinished.

At its narrowest part, the final stage of the doorway niche comprises four vertical forward angles pointing down, one on either side of the two central ones. Each outer side of the angles combines to make up an unusually rigid type of mugarnas alveole with diamond-shaped sides. The three triangular background spaces at the base of the mugarnas have been carved with the kind of motif already noticed on the crescent shape of the lowest composition in the fourth frame (39). As to the roof-like space above the mugarnas, this is just wide enough to contain two large rosettes carved in high relief which consequently form hanging projections above the doorway

in an unusual manner. Both are carved out of a separate block of stone as may be detected by viewing the complex from immediately below. At a distance, the two blocks of stone are hidden, except for the rosettes, by the plain inscription carved out on an almost triangular slab of stone (ph.4). A vertical break can be seen in the right part of it and no floral decoration relieves the plainness of the naskhi writing. It gives the impression of being a hurried addition composed to manifest the new allegiance of the Mangujakids of Divrigi^V to the Seljuqs of Kūm, an example not followed by the Kemah branch of the family.

Each rosette projects downwards on eight angle mugarnas (ph.30) and the bases of the eight points of the star gather on the eight sides of the rosette which itself contains a geometrical pattern of double crossing lines. In both cases, the final projection consists of an extra central circle. Although similar rosettes in such a position are unknown in other contemporary buildings, within the Great Mosque of Divrigi^V there exists a model on a reduced scale of twelve rosettes at the centre of vault twenty-three just on the inner side of the north portal. Single rosettes which give an impression of hanging in mid-air have also been noticed inside the mosque in vault six. This type in turn has been traced to earlier or contemporary examples belonging to the Armenian form of ceiling ornamentation (106).

On either side of the final stage of the doorway niche the space, limited by the star band, is filled by a handsome arabesque which appears to have been interrupted, or disrupted, by the inclusion of the inscription slab. The abrupt stop is markedly more visible on the left where the extremity of an elongated leaf carving is rather obviously missing. It could be suggested that the triangular stone

of the inscription might conceal on its reverse the continuation of the same decoration. An additional point in favour of such a possibility is the fact that the crack on the right hand side of the inscription could have been the result of some mishandling during the unforeseen need to remove and replace the slab. An examination of the inner face of it would confirm or contradict this hypothesis.

Within its rectangular frame, the north portal is by far the most spectacular and original composition in thirteenth century Anatolian stone carving. It suggests that a completely free hand was given to the craftsmen in charge of both composition and execution. The high degree of skill reveals a great knowledge in planning the possibilities of stone volumes placed in certain positions in readiness for sculpting. The complexities of such a creation as that of the fourth band or the deeply recessed doorway which rises to 9.70 m. in narrowing tiers, were never undertaken again, although single carvings in isolated positions do indeed decorate various portals in Sivas and Erzerum.¹

The west portal

Of the three portals the west one, a second entrance into the Great Mosque, has been heavily restored in its lower part although it is neither higher, 8.40 m., nor wider, 6.00 m., than the two others. The collapse of the thirteenth century minaret and the adjacent vaults must have also affected the west portal. The earliest photographic

¹The Cifte minareli medrese in Sivas and that of Erzerum, the Yakutiye medrese in Erzerum, the Gök medrese in Sivas amongst other examples.

record shows¹ that both sides of the portal had been consolidated at their base by seven rough courses of undecorated stone; only the fourth course on the left included one carved stone belonging presumably at some earlier stage to the original plinth.²

When Gabriel made his plans in the early 1930s the whole portal had acquired a more elegant appearance.³ The two massive re-inforcements of the base had been replaced by only five courses of stone including the plinth which recesses in a series of six horizontal mouldings. An attempt had been made at carving the top part of this new base without much success. Other restorations included the new spherical ornament at the centre of the fifth frame (5a), and a round pattern in the third frame (3a) was reset slightly more to the right of the frame.(pl.13).

Such a rectangular portal follows the general style of entrances to religious buildings in the Islamic world of that time (ph.31); it is usually meant to emphasize the entrance to the place of worship. The top part of the portal over the outer frame of decoration has been altered and made higher by three courses of stone. A star and crescent emblem crowns the whole structure although this later addition is not in keeping with the rest of the portal. These extra courses bring the portal up to the same level as the top of the restored walls on either side of it. Unlike the two other portals or indeed that of the 'Alā' ad-Dīn mosque in Nigde (ph.31) the west portal does not soar above roof level like the customary pīshṭāq. The restraint in its size relates in no way to the profusion of motifs in the seven

¹CIA III, pl. 36.

²Today this stone stands inside the north door.

³MTA II, pls. 69-70.

successive frames which surround the entrance. The entrance area recedes by about 85 cms. from the front of the columns to the door itself. The portal stands away from the outer wall by no more than one metre. The lower part of the seven frames, invisible as they are to-day behind the strengthening mouldings, have to be mentally reconstructed in order to recreate the full impact of the elevation (pl.13).

The outer part of the first frame (1c) is a far more successful interpretation of the three plaited cables than those which shape the small pillars of the east window (68). It stretches to the top angle of the portal where it splits into three parts. The inner part is a vertical two-lobed leaf and the two other parts bend back at right angles to restart the horizontal pattern (1a) of the first frame which it had interrupted. This horizontal band is made up of chevrons alternating with semi-circles surrounded by a small circular element along a base line which is shaped into a niche below the apex of each semi-circle and chevron. Any free space above the pattern is filled by a pair of leaves and stems. In a simpler form, the pattern has already been used around the entrance of the Māristān Nūrī in Aleppo before 1174 A.D.¹ The vertical part of the frame (1b) is filled by a sequence of elongated split leaves shaped in figures of eight with a bud hanging down in the middle of the lower part of the eight. The inner border of the first frame (1d) consists of three straightforward mouldings, one of which also terminates at the top in a vertical two-lobed leaf facing inwards towards the centre (1a).

¹IMMA, ph.6.

In the second frame, located in a cavetto, an elongated two-lobed leaf meander runs around the portal without any interruption; it is characterised by a slight backward curl at the tip of the leaf.

In the next receding level, the inevitable star pattern in wicker-work style spreads out into a broad third frame. These geometrical combinations vary so much that a new pattern seems to appear every time. In the same way as in the east window and on the citadel mosque of Divrigi^V (ph.32), the pattern has been calculated in such a way so as to cause the star repeat to be cut in half along the border lines. The inner border line is made up of two recessed mouldings.

The fourth frame runs into a broader band across the top (4a) which includes a pattern in two parts: it is made up of two concentric circles with an inverted T bar across the middle which becomes a part of the motif running along above the circles. Only this second motive is carried down both sides of the portal (4b). To add to the complexity of this design, the inner side of the frame is lined by a series of small leaves connected by elongated loops.

The fifth frame falls into two parts: the vertical mouldings and the larger horizontal band which derives from them. The two outer mouldings end in a vertical two-lobed leaf as in the first and second frames. The inner mouldings spread out into two groups of three large stars with stepped sides. Each encloses two crossed double-lobed leaves with a smaller leaf below. The space between the crosses is also filled with another leaf. Between the two groups or crosses a central cabochon projects forwards. On van Berchem's photograph¹ only a break was noticeable and the cabochon must have

¹CIA III, ph.36.

been recarved during the 1907 restoration. From an early stage in Islamic decoration, this pattern of crosses has often enhanced the flanks of many a brick minaret or tomb tower as far east as Khurāsān. The spandrels of the mīhrāb in the Namazga mosque in Bukhārā, 1119, illustrates this point.¹

The sixth frame is also wider in its horizontal band and equally divided into two parts by a separately carved stone with a bold stylised leaf pattern with asymmetrical lay-out. Its pointed upper portion fills the centre of a crescent shaped motif. This part encroaches on the fifth band just below the cabochon. The main pattern similar to a feathered bud is repeated seven times on the left and six times on the right; the two vertical parts of this frame are filled with the meander of a double two-lobed leaf pattern.

The two spandrels to the entrance niche cover the space between the sixth and seventh frames. This standard shape may be seen either over a mīhrāb or a doorway; it offers an opportunity for a variety of decorative treatments such as arabesques, star patterns, roundels or even the simplest brick or stucco geometrical patterns well exemplified in Bukhārā in two of its most famous buildings: the tomb of Ismā'īl the Samanid and the Magoki Attari mosque, respectively tenth and twelfth centuries.² Ultimately all quasi-geometrical patterns derive from early textile motifs and are translated into another material or even decorated manuscript of any given creed. In the west portal the pattern resembles a cross-stitch pattern; every second motif is a lozenge which is side-stepped on every second diagonal;

¹PR, ph.207.

²PR, phs.99, 208.

the other motif has two alternating elements made up of a small lotus flower and a square-filled leaf pattern.

In a further recess, the seventh and last frame made up of a two-crossed leaf motif no longer keeps to the rectangular outline of the other six frames. The central part of the top conforms to the shape of an omega with a flattened outer moulding. The inner moulding is shaped into the point of an ogee arch which rides across the seventh frame and joins the base of the central element in the sixth frame. This arched portion of the omega encompasses the semi-circle of a broad band carved with two chains of leaf and bud decoration which meet in the centre. The bases of the semi-circular bands transfer its vertical momentum slightly outwards yet within the seventh frame. The whole entrance niche and doorway is enclosed by this double omega-arched frame.

The inner arch could be identified with that of a squinch arch in the zone of transition of a dome construction.¹ The two adjacent walls below such a construction are suggested here by the two sides A'A and AA" of the right angle A'AA". The transition from this angular base to the arch itself will be filled by three levels of decoration which will fit inside the narrowing shape, up to the apex of the arch.

The first level consists of four triangular concave arched elements based on the angle A'AA". Above it, the final niche is made up of two levels in different plans which come forward

¹It is essential in the case of this demonstration, to refer to the outline of the portal on plate 13 and to the photograph 33.

one above the other in the shape of a double-lobed leaf fanning out to lead up to the central sphere just below the intrados of the arch.

From this description, it therefore follows that such a structure must have a completely different type of framing arch. Other portals may have added flat decorated roundels set above or just beyond the spandrel of the arch itself. Here the roundels are within the frame and go in pairs of spheres incrustated with intricate geometrical patterns. They act like pauses to emphasize the base of the niche and the level of the four corners of the foundation inscription (ph.5). The transition from the angle (A' A A''), to the inscription born by the lintel, is carried out by two transitional levels of skilfully orientated triangles. The panel below the lintel, made up of four interlocking stones, forcefully exemplifies the virtuosity of both planner and carver. No two decorations inside adjoining flower shapes are alike, although the basic motif is the double-lobed leaf, which is already part of the rustic repertoire used on the portal of the citadel mosque (ph.32).

The doorway itself is lined by plain dressed stone, with the exception of two mugarnas imposts imitating the profile of capitals although the columns themselves do not exist. This device is often used to relieve the abrupt angles of the doorway. As to the two complete columns on either side of the entrance area, their forward position allows enough space between the door jambs and their shafts for two small recesses. Their base share the same stone

¹For a clear definition of squinch arches, see D. JONES and G. MICHELL, "Squinches and pendentives: problems and definitions", AARP I, 1972, 9-25.

as the base of the columns. Their two wall sides are decorated with panels of figure-of-eight bands containing hanging buds and leaves. These panels are framed either by a cross-and-star band or by a lozenge-and-dot band, both well-known from brick and stucco decoration on earlier Islamic buildings. The top of the recess becomes a niche designed to be carved on two slightly different levels (ph.35). In the right one the top alveole is narrower although in both cases the apex of the ogee is crowned by a moon crescent, a motif also used in metalwork and manuscripts in the thirteenth century.

The circular shaft of each column is carved out of one block of stone, each showing a totally different pattern. The left shaft is enriched by a composition of sinuous lozenges containing figures of eight double-lobed leaves and their extra small ornaments; the general effect recalls the decoration of the lintel and to a certain extent similar work in the Hospital of Kay-Kā'ūs I in Sivas, dated 614/1217-8 (ph.34). On the right column a more placid pattern acts like a simple mesh of two split leaves and their stems interwoven in nine successive tiers. In both cases towards the base, two or three horizontal ornate bands bring the pattern to a stop. At the top of the shafts, in both cases too, the decoration is divided into two bands. On the left the general pattern of the column extends into the lower band so as to act as a divider between repeated thick angular carvings of Allāh. These are written in an unusual style of kūfic and are placed rather haphazardly at various angles. The band above it has either been defaced or worn down by hard weathering. On the right shaft the lower of the two bands contains a horizontal full leaf arabesque not unlike a similar

example in the mihṛāb of Dunaysir (ph.82). Allāh is repeated above it in the same style of kūfic but this time neatly spaced with a leaf pattern between each word.

The elongated capitals (ph.35) take up almost as much vertical space as the rest of the columns. The transitional base ring, in a herring bone pattern, marks the transfer from one type of carving to a new treatment. Basically planned to give a four-sided feeling, the capitals are turned into octagons by extra angle panels, on the two portions below and above the two spherical incrustations. Each of these include a different geometrical composition surrounded by an emphatically moulded frame. The salient element of the intricate lower octagon is a row of hanging leaves. Between this row and each sphere, an enlarged leaf takes up the whole panel of a square side. These leaves hang like fringes on a piece of material and relate in no way to the upward lift of a Corinthian acanthus leaf. Once more, metalwork decoration comes to mind.¹ Above the spheres, the four visible panels contain new sets of variations of leaf motifs. On the left the top of the capital spreads out in a straight diagonal; the right capital includes an added step. Many preliminary carving holes indicate unfinished work.

Both outer sides of the west portal slant back towards the wall at a slight angle to constitute two panels, which may be divided into two parts. In the upper part, the general impression is one of a rhythmical fringe composition, a shedding of leaves in lines of three to four motifs. An unfinished band frames each panel with the exception of the lower niche side. In parts the band has received

¹D. BARRETT, Islamic metalwork in the British Museum, London 1949, a brass ewer, No. 12, Mosul, 629/1232.

some leaf carving. In places, carving holes point to unfinished work.¹

The lower parts of the side panels are made up of a mugarnas niche seemingly to emphasize the bird carving below it (phs.36-7). Each niche consists of five rows of alveoles approximately at the same level as the foundation inscription. On the right panel the double-headed falcon, perhaps perching on a stick, has no opposite number, in contrast with the other double-headed falcon on the left, carved in the same position with a double tail.² This left falcon's companion on the adjacent wall has been carved on only half the prepared stone and the other half might have been intended for another carving of the same type. This single-headed bird has no upstanding ears or crest and could indeed represent a well-known local predator, the red kite.³ In all three carvings the bird motif is not only framed but also involved in more or less stylised foliage whether on the same level or in recess.

Animal representation and in particular that of birds, has a long tradition both in totemic societies and in the well-settled

¹These holes recall the children's game of linking up numbered dots to obtain a final picture. This hole technique is common to all stone carvers for releasing small fragments of stone.

²Only half of the double tail is still in situ. It does however show clearly on Gabriel's photograph. MTA II, phs. 70, 72.

³Milvus milvus, with deeply forked tail and long angular wings with a wing span of 1.20 m. 'Abd ar-Rāziq recalls the description of the kings of falcons, the Derbendia, and the Roumea, in Ibn al-Manjalī. AHMAD 'ABD AR-RĀZIQ, "La chasse aux faucons d'après céramiques du Musée du Caire", Annales Islamologiques, 9, 1970, 109-21.

world of antiquity. The noble quality attached to a bird of prey such as a falcon or an eagle, makes it a choice emblem for a sovereign; the imperial eagles in the Roman and Byzantine empires are standard examples. Closer parallels to Divrigi^V may be found in Konya,¹ in Niğde^V on the castle and on the later mausoleum of Hüdavent 712/1312² and on many later tombstones.³ At this stage of research it is rather difficult to explain a connection with the world of Sufism and it seems as well for the time being to keep to the early interpretation of van Berchem⁴ who saw in these falcons the essential weapon of medieval hunt, since he noticed the presence of bells hanging from their beaks.

One of the closest examples in style if not in stone, is to be found on a large plate from western Iran and now in the Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin.⁵ Although the falcon has only one head, its crest and beak are very similar, so are the long legs and the fanned-out tail with a ring at the top of it. The tips of the wings also end up in some kind of foliated motif; the bare areas on either side of the head are filled with undefined patterns in the same way as in Divrigi^V where no space is left deliberately uncarved.

It may be suggested that beyond their purely decorative value the falcons could be meant to stress the importance of a town where

¹F. SARRE, Seldschukische Kleinkunst, Leipzig, 1909, 7, pl.5.

²G. ÖNEY, "Niğde^V Hüdavent Hatun türbesi figürlü kabartmaları", Belleter 31, 1967, 143-54, pls. 9 b-c, 12a.

³G. ÖNEY, "Tombstones in the Seljuk tradition with bird, double-headed eagle, falcon and lion figures in Anatolia", Vakıflar Dergisi VIII, 1969, 292-301.

⁴CIA III, 76.

⁵A. LANE, Early Islamic pottery, London 1947, pl.47c.

such a monument would stand to bear witness to the prestige of its sovereign. Later monuments in Sivas and Erzerum do include smaller animal representation but never again falcons. In Divrigi^V although their place on the wall of the Great Mosque is emphasized by the mugarnas niches, the carvings themselves are not immediately visible. This may prove to be the starting point of some reticence in emphatic animal representation on religious or other buildings.

In its austere succession of seven enclosing frames, the west portal contrasts strongly with the north portal, although they both are entrances to the same mosque. Without being the qibla portal, it has nonetheless succeeded in gathering within its outline a complex variety of patterns in use in the thirteenth century from the purely geometric to the excessively involved. It has been noticed that the patterns proceeding from textile motifs have a north-eastern origin. As to the more vegetal elements, a clue to this type of ornamentation may be given by the unusual calligraphy used in the inscription of the name of Allāh at the top of both shafts of the entrance columns. The alif takes root on the right and ends up facing the opposite direction. The script slants to the left along its base line and a definite angularity characterises the writing. Nothing similar exists in the other inscriptions of the building, and its carver may have belonged to a different community from the others and would not have been trained in carving Arabic letters. The fact that only the word Allāh is carved shows that only a simple task could be given to whoever had to decorate this part of the column.

It is indeed very tempting to draw a parallel with estranghelā, the Syriac writing as used in its second version which is thicker

and squarer.¹ South of Divrighi the Hekim Han, north-west of Malatya on the road to Sivas, has a trilingual inscription in Arabic, Armenian and Syriac.² The commentary mentions the use of estranghelā for the Syriac inscription of 1218. Malatya was the see of a bishopric and its important cathedral must have been the centre for the Jacobite community well-connected with the rest of the Syriac speaking world. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, over twenty five monuments were restored or built for and by this Christian church.³ There must thus have been at this time an important group of craftsmen available in the whole area from Malatya to Mosul in which region the only Christian monument in good repair to survive is at Mār Behnām. In the monastery, motifs comparable to those used in the inner niches of the portal may be seen by the door into one of the rooms.⁴ Not unnaturally, the Islamic buildings of the same area of Jazīra include the same types of motifs as will be seen later in connection with the mihṛāb of the mosque.

The east window

The whole of the east wall runs along the same higher level in a straight line without any interruption in the plan and a rather roughly dressed stone masonry makes up the major part of it except for two portions (ph.38). First the area which coincides with the tomb chamber has been refaced and two very small windows slotted into the wall. Second, on the right of it, a far more elaborate window, although flush with the wall, rises to a height of ten metres

¹J. LEROY, Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures, Paris, 1964, 107. This style was started in the monastery of Qartāmīn in the Tur-Abdin in the tenth century.

²DAK, No. 18, 63-6.

³P. KAWERAU, Die jakobitische Kirche im Zeitalter der syrischen Renaissance. Idee und Wirklichkeit, Berlin, 1960, 103-4.

⁴C. PREUSSER, Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmäler altchristlicher und islamischer Zeit, Leipzig, 1911, ph.8.

well above the roof line. This roof line which coincides with a real wall between the tomb chamber and the window has, on the right of the window, been built up to the same level with three relieving arches in order to reinforce vault 11. The arches are an addition since Gabriel's photograph,¹ so are the new gutters which drain the rain properly on to the new paving covering the modern ventilation cellar. Inside, the covered part of the east wall has been lined by nine new courses of roughly dressed stone. From the level of the north portal a steep flight of large new steps leads up to the paved area; only thirteen steps mark the change of level on the south side.

The east window with its elaborate decoration has been carefully integrated into the east wall. It is five courses higher than the adjacent wall and on both sides, at the top, a slight serpentine motif finishes off the wall decoration beyond the moulding of the outer frame. This motif did not exist at the beginning of the restoration in 1906² and must have been added shortly after. The decoration of the window may be divided into three parts: the double frame, the spandrels and pillars and the window niche (ph.39).

The double frame: Two successive bands enclose the window panel. The pattern of the outer band combines two separate elements. (pl.14). The first one consists of a series of connecting trilobed omega shapes. This motif may be seen in stucco in the Great Mosque in Qazvin³ as early as 507/1113, and is also used later on the upper

¹MTA II, phs. 64, 2.

²CIA III, ph.34.

³Survey, IV, ph.305.

part of the Rādkān tomb tower in Khurāsān.¹ A nearer parallel to Divrigi^V is that carved in a stone frieze of the portal leading into the sanctuary of the mashhad al-Ḥusayn in Aleppo.² The rendering of the trilobed omega form is broader but it still belongs to the same mode of expression.

The second element is related to the repertoire of floriated decoration based on stylised vegetal motifs. It is akin to the style of the tympanum in the mihṛāb inside the mosque. Many variations exist, especially in Syria and Jazīra carved in either wood or stone³ and occurs visually in such manuscripts as the Kitāb al-Diriyak, Mosul 595/1199.⁴ Sarre⁵ records two remarkably carved wood panels in this very style from the tomb tower of Shaykh Maḥmūd in Akşehir dated 1224. It is significant that although the motif is repeated with a certain regularity, the quality of the composition is such that it avoids all monotony. Within a few decades these motifs lose all suppleness and spontaneity in the way they are assembled, singled out or used separately in a repetitious way as may be seen both in Sivas and Erzerum.

The inner frame, of the same width as the outer one, includes one of the many patterns of the wicker-work type. Each segment of braid consists of two ribs and the pattern has been planned so that

¹Survey, IV, ph. 347a, 680/1281.

²J. SAUVAGET, "Deux sanctuaires shiites d'Alep", Syria 9, 1928, 228.

³J. SAUVAGET, Les monument ayyoubides de Damas, 1938-48.

⁴B. FARES, Le livre de la thoriaque, Cairo, 1953.

⁵F. SARRE, Seldschukische Kleinkunst, Leipzig 1909, 35, ph.30.

the star repeat is cut in half along the vertical borders.¹

A less sophisticated example of the vast geometrical repertoire of wicker-work patterns is to be seen on the citadel mosque² to the right of the entrance doorway (ph. 40). In the case of the doorway the dominant stars have twelve points instead of the eight in the east window. It is quite likely that the narrow band between the two frames was intended to be carved with a pattern not unlike the plait or the arabesque on the same panel of the citadel mosque.

The spandrels and pillars: The outline of the two spandrels above the mugarnas niche belongs to a group of decoration known not only in Khurāsān and Āzarbāijān but also in Aleppo and Konya, made of brick, stone or marble. Whereas in the Rabāt-i Sharaf³ the central twist in the cable pattern is halfway down the dividing line between the two spandrels, in the case of both the east window of Divriği and the mihrāb of the Zāhiriya medrese (probably 1217 A.D., ph. 41) in the outskirts of Aleppo, the twist is at the centre of the apex line. The same treatment occurs on both sides of the doorway of the 'Alā' ad-Dīn mosque in Konya, dated 617/1220-1,⁴ and on later medreses of the capital. Although in stone, the whole feeling of the east window cable pattern is nearer to the treatment in brick owing to its higher relief made of two parallel thick mouldings with a shallow groove on either side.

The originality of such cable spandrels consists in the two

¹The same device is also used on the west portal.

²CIA III, 57, No. 32, 576/1180-1.

³A. GODARD, "Khorasan", Āthār-e-Irān, IV, 23, ph. 17.

⁴IA, 97.

vertical double twists just above the capitals of the pillars.

These capitals have been barely outlined by the carver and are intended almost certainly to receive a similar treatment to that of other capitals such as those on the portal of the citadel mosque (ph.32) or the Sitte Melik tomb tower in Divrigi^V dated 592/1195-6¹ (ph.42). As to the design of the shaft, this imitates the plaiting at sharp angles of three smooth cables. Such a design may be seen in the Kizillören Han on the road from Konya to Beyşehir as early as 603/1207.² It was repeated a few years later in the Sadeddin Han north of Konya in 633/1235-6.³

The base of the pillars appear to be unfinished in the same way as the capitals. The identical lobed outline also occurs at a slightly earlier date in the citadel mosque in Erzerum.⁴

The window niche: None of the above features are visible on the north window panel of the 'Alā ad-Dīn mosque in Nigde^V (ph.43) as the whole decorative treatment displays a less enterprising attitude on the part of the carver six years before the east window in Divrigi^V. In fact the two windows have little more than the mugarnas niche in common,⁵ a feature which draws attention to the opening below it.

Whereas in Nigde^V the triangle of mugarnas simply consists of

¹ CIA III, 65, No. 37.

² DAK, No. 9, ph.53.

³ DAK, No. 28, ph.185.

⁴ R. ARIK, "Erzerum 'da iki Cami", Vakıflar Dergisi, VIII, 1969, 149-56, ph.5.

⁵ Damascus, I, 11.

four rows of ornate alveoles, in Divrigi^V the triangle has been treated in a far more elaborate manner with each row of alveoles divided from the next by a double groove, the total of rows being eleven. Sitte Melik (ph.42), Mama Hatun in Tercan, early twelfth century (ph.44), Niğde^V, and even the mausoleum of Khalifet Ghazi in Amasya, 622/1225, have an average of four rows of alveoles in their respective doorways and window. In the east window, the carving seems nearer in feeling to brick treatment, which cannot go beyond a certain intricacy in its modelling. Carrying on a more eastern brick tradition, the nearest prototypes of muqarnas triangles are in Maraghā and Nakhchivān.¹

The greater complexity of the muqarnas triangle in Divrigi^V comes closer to the entrance of the hospital of Kay-Kā'ūs I in Sivas (ph.45) which in turn originates from the great Syrian tradition with its recent Ayyūbid renaissance; it is best exemplified in the Māristān Nūrī of Damascus built in stone before 1174.

The bottom row of the muqarnas triangle is decorated by eight small blind arches with a stepped outline; the upper row of decoration of the lintel to the window, has alveoles also in the shape of these arches. This original motif may be regarded as a stylistic link between the Anatolian buildings mentioned up to this point. It has also been noticed inside the wall of the mausoleum of Mama Hatun in Tercan and below the frieze of the mashhad al-Jusayn in Aleppo. Two of these motifs are to be seen in the window of Niğde^V and in the

¹A. GODARD, "Notes complémentaires sur les tombeaux de Maraghā, Athār-e Irān, 1936, 125-60. The Gunbad-e Kābūd, 593/1196-7, the Se Gunbad in Rezaiyeh, 580/1184-5.

Sitte Melik in Divrigi^V where the low relief of the carving shows up twice in the bottom row and finally just above this row it appears in the shaping of the next two alveoles. In a slightly different manner the same motif occurs in the east window of the Great Mosque of Divrigi^V.

The last but most striking element of the window niche takes up almost one-sixth of its height. It is a large decorated band across the whole width of the niche between the inscription and the last two rows of muqarnas before the window opening. No such intricate pattern is to be seen either in Nigde^V where the band, in a similar position, is much narrower and of a simpler pattern, or in the portal or side niches of the Hospital in Sivas. Even in the Huand medrese in Kayseri, 635/1237-8, the band of the portal niche is very narrow. It would also be difficult to connect the profuse decor of the east window with the more austere carving of northern Syria, but a coarse forerunner may be that inside the flat tympanum above the entrance to the round tomb tower in Maraghā, 563/1167-8 (ph.46). A broad brick outline emphasizes a pattern of five-pointed stars, octagons and hour-glass shapes. If a nisba is any criterion, it should be remembered that the father of the man who built the citadel mosque in Divrigi^V, 576/1180-1, came from Maraghā. Significantly it is the broad outline, standing out more than the shape it encloses, that is the main pattern and not the stars and octagons. On the contrary, in the east window niche, the outline strikes a visual balance with the ornate geometrical shapes and, to a certain extent, loses the impact which the outline had in Maraghā. The fact that all other comparable geometric bands are narrower, or have been dispensed with, would seem to indicate that the latest attempt in the east window was

not used again.

By the thirteenth century A.D. the use of a few rows of alveoles to emphasize some architectural feature, had become standard decoration. It would be a long list indeed and one which would have to include many brick minarets and tomb towers from Khurāsān to eastern Anatolia, suffice it to give examples in stone. A band of mugarnas lines the top of the octagonal wall of Sitte Melik (ph.42). The top part of the inner walls in Sultan Han near Kayseri and Ağ-zikara Han near Aksaray, are treated in the same manner.¹ As to the east window, the lintel across the top of it has three rows of alveoles with a blank space at each end; the pattern is carried down both sides of the window with an extra row of alveoles on the outside. The ultimate frame round three sides of the window is made up of a small double-crossed meander which echoes a broader one on the west portal. It should be noticed that the window opening has been lengthened by one course of stone since the publication of the monument by Gabriel² in order to connect the window in a neat manner with the new paving along the east wall.

Looking at the window as a whole it cannot be said to display the same homogeneous character as may be seen in other contemporary decorated entrances or windows. Although the more elaborate choice and rendering of patterns combined in the lay-out should create an outstanding composition, the sheer variety of the motifs detracts from a feeling of unity more readily achieved in the simple boldness of such doorways as that of Maraghā (ph.46) or in the uniform style

¹DAK, No. 26, No. 27.

²MTA II, ph.63b .

structure of the entrance to the Hospital in Sivas (ph.45).

The question arises as to why there should be a decorated opening on the east side of the mosque and whether it was intended as a doorway or a window. When considering the east wall from within, it stands in almost complete darkness except for its north-east corner where it joins the gibla wall and has an opening. Without this opening that part of the mosque would receive very little daylight from the small oculi in the dome above the mihrab. There are no windows through the north wall and only four on the west wall each measuring 2.20 x 1.4 cm. (95). If it were not for the modern central glass pitched roof over the centre of the mosque, there would be very little light indeed for a building measuring 1,140 m.². It therefore does not seem unreasonable to assume that the eastern opening could have been planned to allow in more daylight. The fact that the sill is 5.80 m. above the inside ground level of the mosque is readily explained by the slope of the hill (pl.14). Had the declivity of the ground been less important the opening would have been closer to the inside ground level. A similar window on the north wall of the 'Alā' ad-Dīn mosque in Nigde^V illuminates this point (pl.14).

One more feature inside the mosque by the window on the east wall has made it possible to call it a door in preference to a window. It consists of the remains of a platform made of wooden beams on the same level as the window sill (ph.47). A maqsura in this position would have allowed the local ruler private access to worship in the mosque. Only nine beams of the maqsura are still in place, outlining the area which coincides with the corner vault one of the mosque. The two main beams are coarsely set into the capital of column A (pl.6,19) and

the two walls facing it. One wooden column with a rough stone base relieves the strain put on the longer side of the platform. If it really is a maqsura, its appearance seems very plain and little in keeping with the whole conception of the mosque. There is no reason to assume that poplar timber would have been more acceptable than the high quality walnut of the minbar. It could also be suggested that the maqsura was built at a later date but, if so, it is doubtful whether the construction of a private platform would have been justified at a time when no local dynasty of any importance existed any more.¹

Eventually the remains of a wooden platform in the mosque could be explained by the fact that at some time in the nineteenth century the mosque was used as a barn.² By having direct access to the barn from the east side, nearer to the fields on the eastern slopes of the hill, the farmers avoided going round to the main front portals and such a platform as the one inside, a very plain construction, would have made the handling of any stored material far easier. The farmers in fact used the window as a door.

The confusion between the two possibilities of interpretation probably arose from the special treatment given to the window on the outer east wall. To all intents and purposes, it does look like a portal. Only when the parallel is drawn again with Nigde^V (pl. 14, ph. 43) can it be realized that in the thirteenth century such a treatment for windows was not unusual and the decorative treatments given

¹CIA III, 89, No. 56. The last mention of a ruler of the Mangujakid family dates back to 650/1252-3 on an inscription set in the walls of the Divrigi citadel.

²V. CUINET, Turquie d'Asie, I, 1890, 687.

to the windows of the 'Alā' ad-Dīn mosque in Konya are examples in yet another style.

Finally turning to the inscription (25 , ph.7) with the incomplete name of the builder just below the mugarnas triangle, it is worth noticing that this type of calligraphy existed as early as 592/1195-6, on the Sitte Melik tomb. Since the east window is the only ornate opening in the whole building without a date, Gabriel¹ suggested one for it. similar to that on the wooden minbar inside the mosque and dated 638/1240-1. As noticed earlier, such calligraphy is fairly constant throughout the period and is no final proof for a later dating than the three portals of the building. In the world of Islam, furthermore, religious buildings are brought to completion as quickly as possible.²

The hospital portal

The hospital portal of Divriği^v dominates the whole western elevation although it stands well on the right of it. By comparing the 1906 photographs³ and those from Gabriel's publication,⁴ it appears that the hospital portal has needed little restoration except for the replacement of certain stones above the plinth level and the resetting of the stone-coping in recess behind the top of the arch, with the addition of a moulding for the parapet (pl.15, ph.48).

¹ MTA II, 188.

² IA, 23.

³ CIA III, phs. 24 and 27.

⁴ MTA II, phs. 64-5.

In describing such a portal, a division into vertical and horizontal frames no longer truly applies since the totally different shape of the portal requires a new descriptive method. In the present instance, a soaring double archway encloses a magnified rectangular door panel. The rectangle is not the containing frame, but is being contained. The main structure of the portal stands away from the outer wall by approximately 1.80 m. and the depth of the doorway measures 2.90 m.; at its widest point it is 4.75 m. at the level of the most forward stone of the plinth which is one course of stone high and this underlines the horizontal limits of the whole projecting portal as in the north portal of the Great Mosque.

The double archway: Above the plinth, a grooved moulding recedes towards a concave band carved with unfinished lotus flowers in sequence with semi-circle bands enclosing a lam-alif pattern. The remaining space is filled with a leaf-and-bud composition. A narrow moulding overshadowed by a much larger one limits the whole decorated band, runs with its confining mouldings round the outer part of the portal and also vertically on both outer sides slightly beyond the line of junction between the outer wall and the projection of the portal; it finally stops at the top level of the giant capital in the shape of a large alveole (phs. 49-50).

Alternating elongated leaves enclosing lotus flowers fill the next band above the large moulding. The decor in relief has been finished but the background still remains a complex of small holes which indicates the unfinished state of the carving. From the level of this pattern to the giant capitals, on either vertical side of the portal, the overall width of the structure is constant. The

outlined bases of the archway rest on a last band of a loose double rope pattern encompassed by a lower astragal motif and a narrow upper row of beads. The pattern itself is more closely related to the less involved Armenian intertwining compositions than to the limitless wicker-work geometrical rhythms on mausoleum, wood panels or other stone portals. Here, the double rope pattern is shaped into a horizontal central line of alternating simple stars and crosses (ph.51).

At this point, the general outline of the portal may be summed up as two four-point arches which spring from clusters of pilasters with the inner narrower arch receding within the frontal one (ph.48). The facing of the outer arch is broader and more elaborate. Outwardly, beyond the two clusters of pilasters, a double pilaster, half engaged, rises from a plain spread base; the lack of further carving gives it a clumsy appearance. The double pilaster starts with two elements above the base which consist of a cube with a small faceted tore above it, both slightly wider than the shaft. The double pilaster then links together what appears to be a sequence of disparate although striking features (ph.51). First the lowest feature consists of a large rounded complex with a central bud and two enveloping leaves, all starting from a group of double crossing stems. Just above it, what appears to be a head (ph.52) hides the double pilaster which again becomes visible for a short span, when one half turns into the stem of a wide leaf which eventually hides both shafts. The carving is more advanced on the right-hand leaf, its successive levels lead to the top part from which the double pilaster reappears and ascends until both shafts knot together at a right angle; the better carved specimen example is that on the left side.

After reaching the edge of the front panel, each shaft spans out at a slight angle upward only to rejoin along a horizontal line in the shape of two small double arches. The inverted cone thus encompassed becomes the point of departure for the giant angle capitals which spread upwards in five tiers (ph.56). Two lines of faceted mouldings make way for a large loose chevron line limited by a smaller moulding on both sides. The next two tiers become wider through the vertical fanning out forward of narrow almost leaf-like panels with pointed tops. On the first level, these panels are filled with loosely crossed rope patterns and, on the second level, each panel is wider, split into two and separated from the next by a Y recessed shape. The main carving seems an attempt to represent some broad-shaped letter on a background of fine leaves. The final level consists of true alveoles inserted in a double arched outline and cushioned by a moulded chevron. Two more mouldings enclose the slightly receding top band which consists of an unfinished pattern of bold lotus flowers and enlarged leaves with curled tips. Beyond the last moulding, the coping of the capital recedes in an abrupt concave sweep to the width of the front panel. The whole background to the double pilaster and the large added features is plain dressed stone except for the vertical space between the double pilaster and the first cluster. This space contains an elaborate composition of buds and leaves which reaches higher on the right, and on the left shows a prepared overlapping stone. These two last features might suggest the possible carving of the whole surface of dressed stone in a similar manner all the way up (ph.51).

The most outstanding part of this composite decoration is the large leaves-and-bud ornament which takes up the whole width of the

frontal panel up to the arched portal. Both rounded ornaments are surmounted by a plaited head (ph.52). Similar human representations have been noticed above the entrance facing the courtyard of the hospital of Kay-Kā'ūs I in Sivas, dated 1217-18 (phs. 53-4). These heads in Sivas are carved out of one block of stone within a roundel representing the sun on the left and the moon on the right. Four stars mark the corners of the stone. The figure on the left appears to have a crown and one long curl, whereas that on the right has two visible plaits. Although the top of that head has been defaced, there seems to be no room for a crown of any kind. The calligraphy on the left carving between the stylised rays of the sun and the head could read as the Islamic creed.

Another slightly later example of the use of such heads is to be seen on the portal of the 'Alā' ad-Dīn mosque in Niğde^V (ph.31) dated 1223. Both the outlines of the heads have been destroyed and only the plaits survive. No roundel surrounds them although two separate ones may be seen further below. In Divriği^V (phs.51-2) the roundel is far more important than the head above it. On the right both plaits ride the upper part of the rounded unfinished loaf. The top part of the head is also unfinished and the battered face gives no further indication of its significance.¹

It has been suggested that the turbaned profile on the left ends in a floating veil above the ring of gathered hair.² The supposed veil is more likely to be a leaf which enfolds its shape to the left

¹G. ÖNEY, "Sun and moon rosettes in the shape of human heads in Anatolian Seljuk architecture", *Anatolica*, III, 1970, 195-203. The author mentions one more sun rosette in the Ilgin tomb tower of Shaykh Bedreddin in Akşehir. dated 662/1263.

²VD, V, 107.

of the head since it cannot do so to the right. Furthermore, it may be compared with the finished leaf on the right side of the portal where it is also placed to the left of the head. Neither in Nigdenor Divrigi^V is there any calligraphy as noticed in Sivas.

Turning again to the arch springing from the two front panels, the two outer bands (ph.57) of the arch come slightly forward, and this movement is most noticeable from the side. The outer pattern recalls the chevron motif of the west portal (55) which acts as a frame for the more or less complete lotus flowers; it terminates above the last moulding of the giant capital. The second inner band has a more complex pattern based on the same outline with a narrower irregular chevron. The sharpness of the chevron varies according to a rhythm of three to one. This last one, which is larger, contains a small lotus flower. The whole band ends rather abruptly at the level of the moulding crowning the alveoles of the giant capitals.

Clearly visible from the profile of mouldings of the hospital portal (pl.15) is the fact that each of the two clusters of pilasters on either side of the doorway is made up of a central shaft partly engaged and flanked by five separate slender pilasters set apart by recessed angles. A deeper recess is fitted between the two clusters. The bases of the pilasters (ph.51), in the shape of inverted capitals similar to those of the double pilaster but shorter, are linked together by small upturned mugarnas niches. In the angle above them, a double pattern of upright triangles leaves enough space for small vegetal motifs; in the left recess, between the two clusters, a craftsman has outlined two confronted heads which could have been sketches for the two human heads on the front of the portal¹ (ph.55) .

¹ MTA II, 186, fig.120.

Each shaft also starts with two successive elements made up of a cube and a small faceted tore. This is repeated in reverse order below the large lotus flower capitals. Approximately midway between the bases of the pilasters and the flower capitals, an extra continuous band of decoration relieves the plain verticality of both clusters. The upper part of the band swells out beyond the shaft into a looped composition of small lotus flowers, leaves and buds; a flatter geometrical interlaced pattern runs below it in a broad band. Such details would have been easier to appreciate on a flat surface. Similar decoration also features on the pilasters lining the windows above the portal of the cathedral in Tortosa (ph.58).

The capitals across the two clusters of pilasters bear no resemblance to any others in the whole building, and here again the intricacies of their pattern would have shown up better if they had been carved on a flat surface. The deep six-sided recess between the two clusters has meant that the central lotus flower in a row of five, has had to be compressed into an almost unrecognizable shape (ph.59). The two outer flowers on either side of it unfold their petals to the full width of a semi-circle. Their enveloping movement around each cluster is given added force by a sharp vertical fold down the middle of the lotus and thus brings forward the whole flower above the recessed angles between the pilasters. This kind of projection creates the same effect already noticed on the giant leaves of the north portal. (41).

The heteroclit transition from the shafts to the lotus flowers brings together elements already noticed in the other doorways. The upper cube of each shaft acts as a platform for a small vase with a splayed foot, a pear-shaped body and a larger everted neck. The

common stem of two long leaves parts at the level of the rim. When the tips of two leaves from two consecutive vases meet¹ they become the short stem of one of the large lotus flowers. Thus the elongated leaves from a succession of roughly horizontal brackets, which in turn frame a series of three-dimensional hexagons below them. Each hexagon is made up of three elongated lozenges inclined inwards at the middle which outlines a recessed three-pointed star. Intricate leaf-and-bud motifs fill the background of the lotus flowers and the vases. Immediately above the capital area, each cluster of five pilasters now becomes plain mouldings along the same lines which ultimately emphasize the two arches of the portal.

The two most forward mouldings act as a frame for the last decorated inner band of the front arch (ph.57), which is carved with an inverted pattern of unfinished broad pointed leaves or flowers. All other eight mouldings, whether visible from the front or not, swell out into a double bulbous ring shape, roughly at the same distance from the apex of the arch, at the middle of the intrados of each arch. The innermost moulding between the two clusters is the only one to take on the shape of a circle at the centre of the intrados, and can only be seen from immediately underneath.

The springing level of the inner arch is stressed by two large roundels. The greater part of the carving stands well away from the arch as may be ascertained by viewing it side ways from the first floor window; it also reveals the great care taken over the carving of three curled leaves right at the side of the roundel in a position not visible from below. A crescent-shaped frame identical to those on the roundels of the north portal surrounds the upper part, slightly

¹Except for the two recesses and the last pilaster to the far left.

overshadowing the central decoration. The pattern consists of an eight-pointed star made up of plain bands with a small central rib. Both roundels are similar in shape and pattern.

The window and door panel: Turning to the large door panel (ph.48), its striking size extends to a width of 4.00 m. within the double arch of the portal. Four-fifths of its height is slightly recessed inside a double rectangular frame; the upper fifth assumes the shape of a tympanum. Although at first such a half-moon shape seems unusual, reference to Islamic and Christian doorways and blind arches reveals the long tradition of such decorated tympana, flanked with pilasters. Many examples exist in fact and have been recorded from Egypt to Syria and Anatolia, and also from Iran, Armenia and Georgia in a variety of building materials.

The two tympana from the 'Alī mosque in Bawīt now in Cairo¹ are early examples of this style; nearer in time, the blind arches on the two Kharraqān towers in Āzarbāijān, dated 1039 and 1067², also have flat tympana. Even closer examples may be found in two Armenian monasteries in the Soviet Union. They both exhibit the same type of tympanum with a motif of five-pointed stars which are less common than stars with six or eight points. In the example from Haritchavank in the province of Artik, dated 1224, the two rows of stars point up in the same direction. In Saghmonavank, on the other hand, in the province of Aghtarak, extended from 1215 to 1235³, the two rows of stars point in opposite directions, which is also the case in the

¹J. STRZYGOWSKI, *Amida*, 1910, 153, pls. 75 and 155, pl.77.

²D. STRONACH and T. CUYLER YOUNG Jnr., "Three octagonal tomb towers from Iran", *Iran*, 4, 1966, 1-20, pls. 7a, 8b, 16.

³*AAP*, 87, pl.65.

present instance for the four rows in the Hospital portal. In addition, a smaller star of the same pattern has been carved inside the main one. The stars stand out on the same kind of background as those of the two monasteries, which consists of diagonal lozenges and pentagons.

As already indicated, the main part of the entrance panel below the tympanum stands slightly recessed in two frames: one with a flat border on the same level as the tympanum and the other deeply grooved inside the first one. Inside the broad limits of this rectangular outline, it is not so much the carved column over the middle of the window or the second pair of roundels, which attract the eye, but the whole uncarved shape of a flat angular stepped arch (ph.15). The question arises as to whether it was meant to remain uncarved or in the event did not receive the decoration for which the dressed stone was intended. There are unfortunately no indications as to the answer. The upper part of the arch acts as a frame for the first floor window, which will be considered later in the context of the whole portal. (91).

The base of the column, which amounts to one third of its height, overlaps the window sill and reaches the concave face of the grooved rectangular frame well above the window (ph.60). The composition of the base is dominated by two large leaves with tips joining up to form a small stylised flower enclosed by two more leaves with curled ends. Eventually their separate stems coincide with the top part of an arabesque which fits, vertically, in recess, between the two larger leaves. The lower part of the base is a less successful piece of carving made up of two split leaves with curled ends on either side of the centre with added vegetal motifs around them. In addition, and slightly recessed from the front of the base, a broad leaf

juts out towards the left side of the window, carved with smaller leaf patterns; the right hand one has broken off. Finally, above the top level of these leaves, the window frame advances towards the column in a sequence of stylised curled leaves.

As to the octagonal shaft of the column, this is carved into eight facets, in each case divided horizontally into three upright sections. In the bottom and top sections, an ogee arch contains a leaf and bud carving; the central section consists of two pentagons on either side of a lozenge in high relief, lined at both ends by a circular band of eight elongated hexagons riding on the dividing line between two facets. The shaft itself is a rotating member between the levels of its two outer tores. The top tore, which lies at the same height as the window frame, makes way for a broad tore-shaped capital with large six-pointed stars outlined in relief.

By two successive tores, the top one being much larger, the capital joins the grooved face of the main frame. It may be worth noticing that only the rotating shaft is carved on all sides. This does not apply to the back of the base which has only been squared off.

Two vertical panels fill the top corners of the main frame and half a roundel on either side of the window encroaches on them (ph. 60). Only in the top part of each panel does the decoration flow and harmonize successfully. The lower parts convey an impression of confusion as if the master-drawing had been misunderstood. The sinuous linear composition does not appear to add up to any known pattern and flat disjointed elements, similar to those on the mihṛāb, relate in no way to any kind of geometrical motif or misinterpreted Arabic letter. Both lower parts reproduce the same composition without reversing it in a single instance. As to the decoration of the two

roundels, this is far more skilfully executed. Based on a six-pointed star, it has been completely carved with flowers, leaves and buds. Although not absolutely identical, both roundels give the same feeling of profuseness.

The final entrance frame appears unfinished judging by the roughly assembled blocks of stone above the arch of the door (ph. 6), although a closer examination of the lower part of the square panel of octagons indicates a duly completed carving, which may suggest that the original door was a larger one than that which to-day survives. Nine large moulded octagons in the square panel are spaced out by four smaller ones with the addition of horizontal and vertical hour-glass shapes to decorate the remaining spaces. Each large octagon is filled with a geometrical star pattern of lines which gives its shape to the central rosette: six more half-rosettes are spaced around the outer part. As to the smaller octagons, the central six-pointed star leads out to six small flowers all slightly different. Along the outer sides of the square panel there is only room for half a small octagon also filled with three variable leaves. The three line inscription is inserted above the square panel (24).

In the two vertical broad bands which rise on either side of the door, the square panel and the inscription, a thick cable follows an angular meandering course to the top of the inscription where both halves meet. Here again, no parallel has been found with Arabic writing or any regular motif of decoration (pl. 15). This cable only appears to act as a variable frame or link for the seven sculpted compositions in both vertical bands. Most of them are unfinished against a pierced background. A telluric crack runs down the right

side and, on the whole, the upper part is nearer completion than the lower one. On both sides, the outlines of the heart-shaped sculpture suggests a florescence similar to that completed on the north portal, whereas the other sketched-out shapes create an impression of symmetry although fundamentally none are alike. The two rounded sculptures coincide with the middle row of the square panel and the cable turns at a sharp angle across it with an extra vertical notch. The outer circle band is plain whereas the inner one consists of a beaded pattern. The concave centre is filled with the usual inter-twining vegetal composition.

Although on the door panel the juxtaposition of heteroclitite elements belonging to the geometric and vegetal repertoire, does not strictly harmonize, nonetheless, a feeling of unity is given to the whole portal by its double-arched frame. Nowhere else in Anatolia or the Upper Euphrates, has such an arch form been used as an outer shape for a portal.

By the thirteenth century, doorways into important buildings such as mosques and medreses are given special emphasis through a magnified rectangular portal or even a pīshṭāq, either flush with the outer wall, as in the east window, or standing out like a massive tower. This point is illustrated by many caravanserais of the first half of the thirteenth century.¹ The arching of the doorway is contained within the rectangle and, more often than not, a muqarnas niche replaces the tympanum. Even when a tympanum is included, no more than a pair of pilasters completes the doorway without giving it any special

¹DAK, Nos. 24, 25, 26, 27.

feeling of depth, as in the main entrance to the Great Mosque of Dunaysir (ph.61). It is the mugarnas niche which gives depth, not the pilasters.

At this point it may be asked whether the arched entrances of traditional Christian buildings would come nearer to creating this feeling of depth. Neither in Qalat-Seman in northern Syria dating (ph.62) back to the end of the fifth century,¹ nor in Byzantine Daphni near Athens, six centuries later,² may any feeling of modelling be noticed. Even in such examples as Parma cathedral³ or San Michele in Pavia⁴ (ph.63) both twelfth century, the receding arch portal does not come away from the wall. In Provence Romanesque churches, like Saint Gilles du Gard of the end of the twelfth century,⁵ as well as in San Marco in Venice, it is the whole façade of the entrance which moves forward and not the arched portal.

It has often been suggested⁶ that the presence in the Middle East of western builders and masons during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries must have had some impact on building conceptions and ornamentation of the neighbouring areas. From the time of the first crusade in 1097 to the fall of Acre and the abandonment of Tortosa in 1297, from the kingdom of Jerusalem to the county of Edessa,

¹CRA, pl.40.

²A. BON et F. CHAPOUTHIER, En Grèce, 1948, pl.25.

³CRA, pl.140a.

⁴CRA, pl.140b.

⁵CRA, pl.76a.

⁶R. MEYER-RIEFSTAHL, Parnassus III, 1931, Persian influence in Seljuk art, 24, and D. KUBAN, "The mosque and hospital at Divrigi and the origin of Anatolian Turkish architecture," Anatolica, II, 1968, 122-9.

west European practices coexisted with a long standing tradition of stone building from the earliest antiquity right up to the Ayyūbid renaissance. Suffice it to say that the buildings of the Crusaders were sufficiently appreciated to justify the transfer of the whole portal of Saint Andrew in Acre to the tomb of Qalā'ūn in Cairo by his son the Mamlūk al-Ashraf Khalīl (689/1290-693/1294)¹ (ph.64).

In this example, the series of receding arches and columns in the doorway create a definite feeling of depth but again the frontal arch is caught up in a square panel above it and hardly overlaps the doorway. In the case of the portal into the cathedral of Tortosa,² (ph.58), two double-arched mouldings with a central recess, spring from two pilasters on either side of the door. A further outer pair of mouldings follows the shape of the arch and, just above the level of the capital, turns at right angles for a short length, rather like the moulding over the windows and entrances of early Syrian churches. In Tortosa, only this last pair of mouldings curves out away from the face of the wall. Almost the same effect is produced above the doorway into the church of Tigran Honentz in Ani.³

It therefore seems that even in the later development of the European Gothic portals no portal is ever a free arched composition without some enclosing device above it of an angular nature. The hospital portal in Divriği^V appears to be unique in that it makes use of and elaborates on the double archway and arch of earlier models. The ultimate transformation lies in the visual conversion of the

¹CCCK, 97 and MCRJ, pl.53, ph.165.

²MCRJ, Pl.190, no.492.

³AMA, pl. 125.

two outer vertical flat panels into a bizarre broad corner pillar with a square angle over which the giant capitals ride astride (ph.49). The outer vertical limit of this unusual pillar is drawn out by the lar-alif and semi-circle band pattern (76) which does stop at the level of the giant capital. The outer arched movement springs from this level and similarly to the Tortosa portal, the last arched moulding curves tangibly forward.

It may be argued that the roof-coping behind and above the last arching movement adds up to a rectangle, but in fact it is no more than a protection for the deep recesses between the two arches and also between the inner arch and the tympanum (ph.50). It may even be possible that this whole coping¹ was an addition of the Ottoman restoration. A closer inspection of the four carved vertical mouldings reveals an extremely regular pattern of over-stylised lotus flowers and heavily ribbed elongated leaves; in addition, all stems inter-twine too obviously instead of receding into the background as on other carvings in Divrigi^V; the same observation may be applied to the curled tips and nodules. The ridged edges of the motifs, the lack of contrasting levels and the monotonous regularity of the pattern help to suggest a later date than that applicable to the rest of the building. Early Ottoman carving in the Green Mosque of Bursa, dated 1424, may serve to implement these remarks.²

One further supposition is prompted by the bareness of the two flanks of the angular pillar; the well-dressed stone might have been prepared to receive the same kind of elaborate star band as the inside of the arch on the north portal (ph.26).

¹The two lower small, five-sided platforms which narrow the width of the portal towards the arch have also received a small right-angled moulded contour and both ends are limited by two engaged columns with an arabesque of lotus flowers and leaves.

²S.K. YETKIN, L'architecture turque en Turquie, Paris, 1962. (ph.54)

The door into the hospital is framed by a large recessed rectangular panel; a star decorated tympanum joins on to the top of the frame. In this composition two unusual features require some explanation as to their mere existence and the way they relate to the rest of the decoration.

The first one consists of an imposing free-standing column (84) in front of the first floor window. It attracts attention not only by its strange position which takes up one third of the window space, but also by its very size. This in turn might suggest another purpose than a purely decorative one. After careful analysis of the measurements, it becomes apparent that the very height of this strange-looking column has been used as a basic unit from which to construct the whole portal. It is sufficient to say at this stage that the column is placed in such a way as to make up the central section of the total height of the portal, with twice its length on either side of it.¹

A second feature, almost as unexpected as the first, consists in the first floor window. Such a feature in Islamic architecture sets a new series of problems since it is not customary to add a window within the frame of a portal. Even if there were a first floor behind the entrance wall as in medreses and caravanserais² the general tendency would be not to stress it by any opening; the door itself is a negligible quantity, usually very small in relation

¹A further use of this unit of measurement will be discussed in the conclusion. Such mullioned windows appear in an Il-khanid manuscript of the first half of the 14th century A.D. in a Shahnameh of the Freer Gallery, Washington, No. 45-21.

²It would indeed be foolish to add another opening above the entrance door in a caravanserai which often plays the part of a small fortress.

to the portal, and all that matters is the size of the frame around and above the door. The onlooker must be in no doubt as to the importance of the entrance whatever the humble size of the threshold.

Exceptions to this rule appear later as exemplified in the Ahmad Ghazi medrese,¹ 1375AD. in Peçin near Milas¹ or in the Ak medrese, (1401 A.D.)² where the window is not above the entrance but becomes a separate arched loggia on either side of the portal. It may be therefore inferred that a window such as that in the hospital portal of Divrigi^v is not of Islamic inspiration.

In northern Syria many early Christian churches have on the west elevation one or several windows above the entrance doorway in order to allow more daylight into the nave, as for example in the church of Qalb-Loze (ca. 500 A.D.)³. The same disposition of windows is also found in early Armenian basilicas such as that of Kasakh,⁴ fifth century A.D., at Aparan near Erevan. Here the upper window no longer follows the shape of a relief arch which was the case in Syria, but becomes an elongated vertical opening well above the entrance. No larger arch system encloses both window and door in either case. (There might sometimes be a small porch over the door as in Zibini, seventh century, north of Kars,⁵ where a relief arch window is included under a general arch with pillars to the ground.) By the end of the tenth century A.D. in Ani, the Cathedral has on both west

¹S.K.YETKIN, L'architecture turque en Turquie, Paris, 1962, ph.52.

²MTA I, ph.53.

³ECBA, ph.44a.

⁴AMA, ph.9.

⁵AMA, ph.44.

and north elevations (ph.27) the same elongated window with a very low relief frame well above the entrance door. A slight moulding in the shape of a blind arcade encloses both window and door. In the monastery of Horomos, near Ani, the church of Saint Jöhm has a window above the whole arched doorway¹.

Although early Romanesque churches in Europe owed a great deal to Middle-Eastern architecture, the building Crusaders in turn, brought to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean the use of series of receding pilasters for doorways and that of a kind of light inlet above the doorway. The oeil-de-boeuf in the trefoiled arch above the entrance to the church of Saint Andrew in Acre is a case in point (ph.64); so is the rose window in the Zecharia chapel of the Al Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem.² In the same town the windows above the entrance to the Holy Sepulchre, 1149, and those of the church of Saint Anne, only a few years later, do not relate in any way to their entrances. The arched movement above each of them belongs to either the window or the door.³

On the other hand, by the middle of the thirteenth century, in the ancient kingdom of Greater Armenia the arched entrance of the gavit to Hovhannavank, 1250⁴ (ph.65), has a large arched window place squarely above the doorway, and of equal width with a central column. Later still, in 1266, the window above the arched doorway of the monastery of Ganzasser⁵ (ph.66), although without a central column, is contained by a voluminous moulded rectangular frame, in design not

¹MA, ph.128.

²MCRJ, pl.115, No. 355.

³CCCK, 7, 13.

⁴AMA, ph.191.

⁵AAP, 99, ph.79.

unlike the plain frame of the door panel in the hospital portal of Divrigi^V.

From this chronological list of windows above west doors of churches it would appear that the example of Divrigi^V is unique in that both door and window with the added column, are enclosed under the same double arch system and that moreover the tympanum is above the window and not above the door as in most churches. Although a prototype the hospital portal was never really imitated and only a few of its elements were picked up in the last two examples in Armenia. No real imitation may be found either in Anatolia or in the Upper Euphrates.

Besides the hospital and west portals, the west elevation (pl.9) also includes on each side of the west portal a buttress 7.50 m. high by 0.80 m. which appears to be too narrow in width to retain the wall efficiently. Both buttresses are an integral part of the well-dressed facing of the wall, and in turn they are flanked by a pair of plain windows (1.10 x 0.70 m.) which in no way detract from the west portal.

The hospital side of the elevation rises from almost 8.00 m. at the mosque level, to over 10 m. by an additional eight courses of stone. This extra height is required by the hospital first floor. Apart from the window in the portal, two ground-floor and two first-floor windows are the only openings on the west side of the hospital. They too are unobtrusive and smaller than those belonging to the mosque.

The level of the terrace along the west elevation slopes down towards the north end of the mosque and a cursory look at the height of the window sills above ground level to the left of the west portal

shows that they start a course of stone higher than those on the right of the portal. Furthermore, it has been noticed that only thirteen steps are needed to gain access to the east elevation paving from the south side of the building, whereas twenty-seven steps are required from the north side. This will be reflected in the difference of levels in the mosque and the hospital.

The south elevation is the only one not to have any major opening with suitable decoration. Only six windows haphazardly scattered on an irregularly faced wall relieve the unadorned expanse. They are two courses of stone high by half that size in width. Here and there a few rough carvings have been scattered by the workmen restoring the fabric of the wall. Such a wall is more in keeping with the Islamic treatment of elevations which do not have an entrance into the building. It is seldom possible to enjoy visually a walk around a mosque of the thirteenth century. On the contrary, a church, be it Armenian or Syriac, would offer a variety of decorative compositions made to relieve the monotony of a well-dressed face; this point may be illustrated by the church of Saint Gregory Tigran Honentz in Ani (ph.67.).

Chapter Four

INTERIOR OF THE MOSQUE AND HOSPITAL

The plan of the monument falls into two parts totally separate in conception but harmonized by the builders into one compact rectangular building: the mosque and the hospital. For the purpose of analysing the structure it is convenient to take each part separately, describe it, trace its origins to previous structures where possible and finally discuss the combination of the two juxtaposed princely foundations; both were built to the glory of God but only the mosque incorporates a mihrāb.

The Mosque

The mosque covers a rectangular surface of 1,140 m.² (38 x 30 m.) (pl.6) and is divided into a system of twenty-five vaults numbered 1 to 25 by sixteen columns marked A to Q. The main axis runs from the highest portal on the narrower north elevation to the mihrāb along the middle of the central aisle¹ which is wider than the two lateral ones on either side of it (9.50 m. as opposed to 4.75 m.). The intricate decoration of the vaulting system strongly emphasizes the complexities of the ceiling structure which culminates in the mihrāb twelve-ribbed dome. This dome rests on four squinch arches (ph.75) which carry the whole load. At the north end of the mosque vaults 18 and 23 also show great complexity. The entrance door and north portal are not in the axis of the mihrāb although the centre of vault 23 appears to be axial.² The whole structure of the north portal, off-centred to the west, encroaches on this

¹The word 'aisle' is used here in preference to 'nave' (which carries a different architectural and religious connotation).

²Seen from outside the north portal is in the middle of the north elevation if allowance is made for the shape of the original minaret (31-7).

vault by the two semi-circular piers needed to support the very tall portal (ph.68).

A closer inspection of the plan (pl.6) reveals fundamental disturbances in the shape of the western half of the mosque. The columns, heavily encased in stone, have shifted slightly and this in turn has led to an irregular plan of the vaults above them. These are certainly not true rectangles and amongst them only vaults 4 and 9 still have an elaborate vaulting system. On the other hand, in the eastern half of the mosque, most vaults have been carefully organized except for vaults 21 and 22. Vault 16 is rather sober, by comparison. Only column B in this half of the mosque has been encased in stone presumably to stabilize the load of the mihrab dome. A series of reinforcing arches lines the intrados of the arches resting on all encased columns.

A second axis to the mosque may be drawn from the west portal through the central part below vault 13. This vault like vault 8 is new and its centre does not coincide with the central part of the threshold of the west portal which stands more to the south. Judging by the section drawn by Gabriel¹ there must have been an ablution fountain in the central area, but to-day the level of the latest paving has completely hidden any possible trace of it.² The former paving may still be seen at the two entrances of the mosque with its large irregular stone flags.³ The base of each column

¹MTA II, fig.112.

²This new paving was being laid at the time of the plan drawn up by Ülgen (VD V, pl.1) and of G. Goodwin's photographs.

³Within the north door it covers an area of 11.40 m.² and within the west door an area of 6.70 m.² and a step of 36 cm. in the first and 26 cm. in the second instance.

has been enclosed by the new paving and the correct height of each column must be deduced by allowing for the change of level in the paving and the gradual slant of the rock foundation of the whole building (95-6).

Columns

The seven visible columns (pls. 19-20) are made up of seven blocks of stone and their octagonal base in each instance stands on a larger square plinth more or less deeply set in the paving. None of the seven capitals or bases are alike and the octagonal shafts terminate at top and bottom in a wider tore preceded by a more slender moulding except in the case of column F. The mouldings were intended to be carved but only the shafts in N and O have been given a decorative treatment: a checkered band in N and a row of beads in O.

All seven capitals are virtually square with angles softened by the triangular outline of a small mugarnas niche on three levels except for capital N where no alveoles fill the empty space. The areas between the niches are all carved, except for A, mainly with added niches in F, K, O, a small circle in E, a diagonal cross-moulding in J and a chevron in N. As to the bases, each facet of the octagon contains a small arch-shaped carving facing up or down with or without a notch to emphasize the apex of the arch; the exception is K where the decoration has not been completed. In F the pattern is on two levels with well-shaped portions of eight pillars between the levels. The base of column J (ph.69) has a most successful cable pattern with a bold loop at the top of each facet before the start of the shaft mouldings.

Such ornate free-standing columns cannot be attributed to either

eastern or Syrian¹ influences and the fact that elements such as corner mugarnas niches on capitals, thick tores at top and bottom of shafts, octagonal bases on a square plinth, already existed in the gavit² of monasteries, points to an Armenian origin.³ Suffice it to mention the gavit of the monastery of Sanahin dated 1181 A.D.⁴ and that of Makaravank dated 1207.⁵ All shafts are cylindrical, be it those on the first floor surrounding the sahn of the Great Mosque in Diyarbakir or examples in Armenia. The plain faceted octagonal shaft still remains an original feature of the columns in the mosque.

Plan

The lay-out of such a mosque as that of Divrigi^V is often qualified by the word basilical, presumably on the ground of several rows of columns which give the building an elongated shape and contrast with the Arab type mosque such as the Great Mosque in Diyarbakir. Nevertheless if one is to apply strictly the meaning of basilica - an oblong hall with a double colonnade and an apse - none of the earlier mosques, which usually come into this category, fulfills the definition. The Great Mosque in Niksar (1145 A.D.) has five aisles, so have Kayseri (1135-40) together with the Külük mosque (1210-1 A.D.) in the same town, while the Great Mosque in Akşehir has six aisles. Furthermore in the Great Mosque of Divrigi^V the width of the central aisle is twice the size of a lateral one, each aisle

¹It may be submitted that Syrian capitals were also carved with mugarnas niches (Damascus III, 18-9, figs. 23-31^V) but it seems that if they are to be compared with those in Divrigi or Armenian monasteries they look rather too frail and subdued to be considered as definite antecedents for Divrigi.

²From the eleventh century, a kind of narthex no longer based on the cross-in-square plan of churches with massive piers or clusters of pillars, but requiring free-standing columns.

³Byzantine church architecture has very little if anything to do with the various components of the present building.

⁴AAP, 45, No. 19.

⁵AAP, 57, No. 29.

is divided by a line of four columns, every column carries in part a different vault and this system cannot be said to make up a colonnade of the kind known in early Christian architecture. The added width of the central aisle is no doubt meant to emphasize the mihrab as may also be seen in the Külik mosque in Kayseri. Finally the mihrab niche can hardly be compared to the apse of a basilica particularly when the special dome which crowns the mihrab is taken into account. Any dome in a Christian church stands between the nave and the apse, not over the latter part.

The transformation from the Arab type of mosque to what may be called the Anatolian mosque¹ seems to have been governed by climatic and practical conditions. When the sahn or courtyard had to be eliminated because of rain or snow, the covered part of the mosque facing the mihrab was lengthened. This elongation of the ground plan would have made the building too massive had the various series of side aisles not been trimmed back to even out the whole space. This explains why in southern Turkey and adjacent to the Syrian border there still exists for climatic reasons the Arab type of mosque in Diyarbakir and Dunaysir. The early mosque in Sivas, eleventh-twelfth century, again conforms to the Arab plan but with no trace of a courtyard; exceptionally its roof is completely flat without the usual mihrab dome but this seems due to some later restoration, since the principle of that type of dome was brought into Anatolia early on from Persia.

By the thirteenth century in most examples the Anatolian

¹DK, 122

mosque consists of a hall of columns with a mihrab dome. The columns may be re-used Byzantine ones or wooden ones when the material is available,¹ or again they may be carved out of fresh blocks of stone. As to the domes, they are usually built of stone but there exist the occasional examples of brick or wooden domes². The Great Mosque in Divriği shows the same departure from the Arab plan. Its nearest and earlier parallel can be found on the citadel hill of the same town and further afield in the 'Alā' ad-Dīn mosque in Niğde. The citadel mosque is dated to 576/1180-1 and consists of three aisles divided by two rows of three columns each; only the two lateral aisles show traces of two rows of domes. The 'Alā' ad-Dīn mosque, dated to 620/1223, like the previous mosque, has been defined as basilical because of its three aisles but the three domes along the qibla wall underline the whole length of that wall and not solely the central part of it. Moreover the piers do not constitute two colonnades for the very reasons already mentioned.

Unlike its predecessors with five aisles in Kayseri and Niksar, which seem to have been designed by less experienced craftsmen, the Great Mosque of Divriği strikes a note of unity as it must have been conceived, as indeed was the 'Alā' ad-Dīn mosque in Niğde, as one unit. The whole lay-out shows great enterprise if not a defiance of structural building rules of the time with its large number of columns and twenty-five vaults. The fact that nine out of sixteen columns have had to be encased in a stone sheath tends to show up the miscalculation of stress precisely in that part of the mosque without

¹G.ÖNEY, Ankara' da Türk devri yapıları, Ankara 1971, 209, for a list of mosques with wood columns.

²C.F.RITTER, "A wooden dome in Turkey", Oriental art, NS 15, 2, 1969, 113-5.

extra reinforcement. Along the gibla wall the structure of the hospital acts as a buttress, the hill does the same for the east wall, the two inner piers play a double part in holding together the northern vaults and the north portal. The Ottoman restorers, fully understood the problem of thrust when they heavily buttressed the north-west corner of the mosque with its minaret. They also added two slender abutments on either side of the west portal, but these hardly seem sufficient to holdback anything more than the portal itself. They also lined the inside of the wall with a series of six irregular blind arches (97). Even in the 'Alā' ad-Dīn mosque in Niğde^V which only consists of fifteen vaults on eight squat piers, the last restorers felt it necessary to add heavy buttresses to the southern and western outer walls.

Vaults

Whereas the standard Graeco-Roman columns carry flat roofs - and the same applies to the wooden columns of the Arab type mosque - the columns in Divriği^V serve a completely different purpose. Their robust structure allows for a new system of vaulting and opens up possibilities for more sophisticated cupolas. The vaults are made of interlocking stones, often tufa which is lighter than sandstone, carved so skilfully that gravity pulls them together.¹ Fallen vaults of a similar type but simpler are those of the Manūchihr mosque in Ani built before 1120 (ph.70). The break shows how much more of the blocks of stone are enclosed above the vault than is visible from the ground, and consequently such structures are more

¹J. BALTRUSAITIS, L'ogive et l'Arménie, Paris, 1936, 23, fig. 13.

likely to withstand earthquakes.

No other mosque creates such a sense of unity combined with such a variety in detail. Whereas in the Great Mosques of Silvan and Dunaysir the main focus is on the dome and the mihṛāb below, in the Great Mosque of Divriği^V the eye is led almost unwittingly from the columns to the vaults; these produce a succession of impacts which in turn reach a climax in the symbolic dome over the mihṛāb. The study of comparative material for this vaulting system with its strong and ornate columns, leads back to the gavit¹ which by the early part of the thirteenth century was standard in all monastic complexes. Four free-standing columns delimit the central part of the hall with its cupola for light. The arches for the eight surrounding vaults spring from the columns and terminate directly in the four main walls or depend on columns either free-standing or half-engaged as in the monastery of Sanahin where the gavit was built in 1181.

In the buildings of the Crusaders in Syria and Palestine corbels mark the springing of such arches on the main walls. This is in fact what has happened in the Great Mosque (pl. 26). The first four along the east wall come closer in inspiration to the examples seen in the castle of Tortosa (ph.71),² so do the two corbels on either side of the mihṛāb. The last four corbels on the north wall convey a sense of greater stress in their massive outline. The builder might have found it necessary to reinforce these springings as an added support to the two piers of the north portal. (pl. 26, Nos. 7-10).

¹The first one dates back to 1038 in Horomos vank near Ani; it is usually located in front of the church and at the same time attached to it and chiefly used as a meeting place during the Islamic period.

²MCRJ, pl.183, No. 557.

The lay-out of the mosque may be better understood if it is considered as a glorified gavit which would not only include the usual central part but would also be extended by one vault on all sides. From a traditional three times three system, the plan becomes a five times five system. This extension has also been called an ambulatory¹ but such a term may only be used when tawaf is required in the sense of a procession around a sacred place such as the Qa'ba in Mecca. This practice does not apply in the normal use of a mosque. Thus the double-plan gavit has been designed to create enough space in front of the qibla wall.

The second problem solved by the use of a gavit plan is that of daylight inside the building. It is difficult to-day to re-constitute the original central cupola which normally crowns the gavit. It might have had an opening since Gabriel² indicates an ablution fountain below it. The newly repaired octagonal skylight rests on the extrados of four arches springing from columns F G K L and on their cross-beams. Its drum is covered by a gently sloping glass pyramid. Other daylight sources consist of the east window (65) and the four windows in the west wall (pl.16). Only a closer study of the shapes points to their remodelling with the addition of hinges for shutters presumably as part of the Ottoman restoration; rough stone masonry blocks up almost half their height. An added opening well above windows 'a' and 'b' is hardly visible; these two windows at the north end of the west wall still have some carved

¹DG, 123.

²MTA II, fig.112.

decoration within the recessed niche well above their newer opening. No such carving survives above the two other windows. These openings in c and d may be entirely new ones required by the odd placing of the piers to the six reinforcing arches along the whole length of the inner west wall. A cursory look at the ground plan will show the erratic spacing of these arches and piers.

In spite of the relatively small amount of daylight allowed into the mosque and therefore the difficulty of distinguishing any vaults clearly, it is intriguing to notice that such elaborate vaults have been built into the fabric of the mosque; they appear more as a determined challenge to space and gravity than as a straight answer to a simple roofing and decorative problem. In his survey¹ Mnatsakanyan lays out two series of patterned vaults; the first one exemplifies the treatment of a square space (ph.72) and the second series that of a rectangular space (ph.73). In Divrigi^v all vaults are rectangles (pls.17-18) and they seem to combine the more intricate patterns of the square series with added innovations beyond these more regular geometric models. The best preserved vaults are numbers 1, 2, 4, 6 and 7 which all fall into one group. Each composition centres round a star, a cross, a circle or an octagon from which radiate a complex mesh of ridges and mouldings. The apparent skill consists in reducing the overall length of the rectangle to a smaller one as in vault 4 or to a square as in vault 6. (ph.74) The remaining areas at either end are turned into half-domed shapes or various combinations of triangles.

¹AAP, 111, pls. 93, 112, pl.94.

It is worth noticing that the above description draws on a vocabulary alien to the field of three-dimensional geometry. For the onlooker, space has been reduced to a flat surface most evident in vaults 2 and 4. It requires even more careful examination to discover that the central motif of vault 6 - a stylised lotus (ph.74) - is suspended in space; a similar treatment is accorded to the decorative part of the keystone in vault 25 (fig.18). Moreover geometrical and vegetal details of the same relief technique are detectable in all vaults of this group. The central rosettes in vaults 1 and 7 have been carved in relief so has the swastika pattern in the central cross of vault 4. The same type of rosettes were carved in the severity of a vault of Makaravank, before 1207.¹ Four stylised lotuses add a spreading-out effect to the cross pattern in vault 6 and in vault 2 the same four lotus flowers, placed separately further down the branches of the more elongated cross, draw in the lines towards the centre as they face towards it. In vault 7, the four flowers alternate with four pairs of smaller more elaborate ones.

With its massive ribbing, vault 18 stands on its own in the way it conveys a true feeling of drawing-in space and leads up to vault 23, which is really part of the monumental north portal, since it receives the top part of its two massive piers (ph.68). They do not stand equidistant from the central axis leading from the centre of the mihṛāb dome to the centre of vault 25. Structurally there is no visible explanation for this slight shift of the portal to the west. As often happens outside Europe, symmetry is not a fundamental law for craftsmen and one should not attach too great an importance to

¹AAP, fig.33.

it in this kind of enquiry. The central part of vault 25 consists of three rows of five cubes deeply carved into the shape of a four-pointed star with a round centre; this centre is in turn cut into a smaller four-pointed star. As in the other vaults already described, a cross-vaulting system is used and the ridges are emphasized either by the heavy ribbing in vault 18 or just underlined by an added decorative carving in the shape of a torch as in vault 7.

It should be noticed that rectangular vaultings produce more stress than square ones when the thrust is equally distributed, a fact which may account for the collapse of a number of vaults in the Great Mosque. It is a tragedy that these vaults no longer have their original stone construction. It is to be wondered whether they ever were finished or had collapsed beyond repair after earthquakes. A closer examination of the remaining original vaults shows traces of repair in the mortar joins which originally could not have looked as rough as the current ones. Other unexpected details consist of dark painted decoration in vaults 1 and 7. It could have been some decoration added by the Ottoman restorers.¹ On the other hand, these patterns fit in neatly with the general scheme in each case and could have been conceived as a substitute for the low relief carving which was not even started. The octagons, circles and arabesques are drawn very much in the spirit of the day.

The Mihrāb Dome

By the thirteenth century domes are a well-established architectural feature in western Asia. In Anatolia, there are two

¹They also added a whole quotation from the Qur'ān (28) on the wall between the minbar and the western wall.

imported traditions in the construction of domes: one is the long-standing tradition of the stone martyrium taken over in early Islam by structures such as the Dome of the Rock, and the other is the Sāsānid stone-built dome subsequently made of brick in such buildings as the tomb of Sanjar in Merv datable to around 1160 or the famous mosques of the Jibāl under the Great Seljuqs. There are two main elements which vary from one dome to the next. First the zone of transition between the normally square chamber where the dome may adopt one of a variety of systems from the squinch or corner arch to several types of pendentives. Second, the curvature of the dome may have an even surface with or without a pattern or else a ribbing which may be either structural or purely decorative.

In the case of the Great Mosque in Divriği^V, the transition (ph.75) from the twelve-sided drum beneath the dome to the square chamber, is achieved at each corner by means of a pair of intersecting arches transferring the load to four points. The arches form part of the wall structure but it is not possible to determine to what extent they function independently of the wall. The inner space between the intersecting arches is filled with a muqarnas composition made up of five tiers of alveoles which have not received their final carved decoration. The two lateral spaces only have simple low relief carving in the shape of a stepped blind arch of the type already noticed in the east window (70).

The squinch arches in the 'Alā' ad-Dīn mosque in Niğde^V (ph.77) give a clearer idea of the final effect to be had from this kind of work. The difference in the latter building lies in the fact that the totality of the squinch arch is structural whereas in Divriği^V the arch carries the whole load. The corner arch in Silvan operates

in the same way as in Divrigi^V (ph.78).

Whereas the springing of the arch may be a plain triangular overlapping element of brick in the Jibāl, in Divrigi^V it is carefully carved in the shape of a small muqarnas niche. Between each corner arch a smaller flat arch fills the space above the mihṛāb (ph.75) and the wall opposite. Both these arches are outlined by a stepped arch and include a window.¹ On the east and west sides of the domed chamber no such windows exist and only an arched outline has been carved. Furthermore above all four arches an eight-pointed oculus marks the centre of each wall.

The novelty of such a dome (ph.76) consists in its handsome ribbing of twelve elements which are carried right down to the base of the drum when possible or to the apices of the corner arches. Each rib consists of two parts. The upper part emerges from a lightly outlined circle at the apex of the dome and is made up of a treble moulding with slanting sides. The space between each rib is filled by one block of stone which becomes wider as the dome spreads. The angle shaped by the points of departure of two ribs contains the remains of a painted arabesque.

A dividing line, horizontal and recessed, marks a clear separation between the true ribbing and its prolongation in the lower part of the dome. At this point the dome would, in plan, resemble a twelve-petal flower.

Below this section the ribbing turns into an elongated capital with four narrowing layers of alveoles finally limited by another horizontal broad painted band. The widening area between the capitals is emphatically recessed; at the top it slants in abruptly like a roofing element as it follows the widening of the link stone between the upper ribs. These twelve areas are filled with polygonal hollowed

¹Originally these two windows would have allowed some daylight to filter through into the mihṛāb dome; now they are only dark holes looking through the newly built attic.

shapes each with a neatly carved frame. Unfortunately it is difficult to reconstruct accurately the area contained between these two horizontal levels.

Under the lower horizontal band (ph.75), four capitals come to rest on the apices of the four corner arches. The remaining eight capitals become semi-engaged pillars with four-sided shafts. The broad base of the columns, thinning down to a point through narrowing levels of alveoles, is limited by the sides of the corner and window arches.

Such engaged pillars are used at an early stage in Islamic architecture to support as well as to decorate the zone of transition in a domed structure. Some of the earlier examples in brick go back to the early years of the tenth century as exemplified in the well-known tomb of the Samanid in Bukhārā; between each arch of the octagon a rounded brick pillar supports the central part of every second division of the sixteen-sided base of the dome itself. The mausoleum of Arab-Ata near Tim, dated 978¹ (ph.79), contains eight slender pillars in its zone of transition, each one reaching halfway down each angle. Only their alveole-shaped capitals, which look like spears, bear some of the load from the dome. Eight massive pillars in the drum of the Georgian church of Gengelli Köy, twelfth century, in the province of Kars (ph.80), support the dome and sizeable windows between them give abundant light to the church. A further example may be seen in the mashhad ad-Dikka in Aleppo where the sides of the squinch arches are sculpted into the shape of a pillar. It should be remarked that, by comparing the zone of transition in the mihṛāb dome of Divrigi^V with the above examples, no

¹PR, 102.

other buildings contain such lavish treatment for the dome.

Painted fragments have already been noticed in the vaults and inside the dome between two ribs. By emphasizing them, the painted lines create a star effect at the centre of the dome. Such painting also accents the second horizontal line, the outer parts of the arches, the stars and polygonal shapes.

The question now arises as to whether these shapes were meant to simulate the windows of the drum which exist in such Syrian buildings as the medrese ar-Ruknīya dated 621/1224-5, in Damascus.¹ As to the ribbed dome, the best example available both in type and in terms of distance, is in Tercan, the mausoleum of Mama Hatun.² The dome inside it only has eight ribs of a narrower kind but as in Divriği^V they are structural. Finally it should be noticed that most of the prepared stone in the lower part of the dome has not received any special decoration which would probably have been of the type also found in the alveoles of the zone of transition in the Great Mosque in Silvan (ph.78).

The Mihrāb

The least finished part of the whole building is without doubt the mihrāb (ph.81). It takes up the entire width of the qibla wall crowned by the dome. At both ends of the mihrāb the more recent reinforcement of the columns and the intrados of the arches has meant that the corbel from which the left arch springs has been embedded in the added stone lining; only its profile is visible. Before repairs the whole volume of the mihrāb must have come forward by

¹Damascus III, 20-6, figs. 37-8.

²MIAVE, pl.45, ph.131.

about 0.70 m. Its total width is slightly over 9.00 m. and its height approximately the same if one includes the large band of motifs above the framed structure. The mihrāb niche is half the total height and about a quarter of the width.

In the thirteenth century such a vast composition is by no means unusual. Even in the ninth century in Qairawān the mihrāb panel (248/862) of the Great Mosque fills up the whole bay under the dome. The same principle is adopted in several mosques of the Almoravids in north Africa. The mihrāb panel in the Great Mosque of Dunaysir 601/1204 (ph.82) overpowers the whole building. This effect does not apply so much in the case of the 'Alā' ad-Dīn mosque in Nigde^V (ph.83) where some of the width of the mihrāb bay has had to be relinquished to the stone minbar, so that both mihrāb and minbar are included under the same dome. In the case of the mihrāb bay of the Great Mosque in Erzerum, the arching for the dome outlines the space available on the qibla wall and consequently prevents the monumental mihrāb from filling the upper part of that bay, although the treatment of the stone facing is similar to that of Divrigi^V; in both cases, they are unfinished.

In the Great Mosque, four areas of the mihrāb only have been partly decorated. They consist of a proportion of the mihrāb niche, the high relief sculpture which acts as a link between the niche and the gigantic torches which mark both ends of the bay half-way up the panel. The last element, only carved in parts, lies across the top of the whole panel just below the zone of transition. In its deepest section, the mihrāb niche is recessed by about 1.50 m., which allows the five successive surrounding frames to be brought forward in a series of bold projections. Only the first frame next

to the niche and the outer one are absolutely flat. The second frame juts out almost at right angles; the third frame is almost half-moon shaped and the fourth has a slightly sinuous curve. The multiple framing of the mihṛāb niche occurs in the thirteenth century mosques already mentioned but never in so bold a style as in Divrigi. One of the usual characteristics of the outer frame is to create a slightly encasing effect. Exceptionally in the Great Mosque the huge torches mark the limits sufficiently by overlapping from the fifth frame into the fourth to make the encasing an unnecessary refinement. Such dramatic sculpture has no parallel in earlier mosques and its three-dimensional quality makes it unique.

Each torch rises majestically from a corbel similar to those on the east wall (pl. 26) and spreads out into three concave readings; these come to an end in the shape of three small alveoles surmounted by three small arches. If a line is drawn at that level across the mihṛāb, it would run along the top of the sculptures in the second and top frames of the mihṛāb niche. The actual capital section of the torch spreads out slightly more, repeating the lower composition, but in three tiers; the top arches in the left torch are marked at their apices by a kind of flame-like carving.

From this area, a bold medallion juts out like a flower into the fourth frame. The left one, in addition to a background of arabesques, contains what appears to be the word mulk in the wrong letter order (ph. 84). The plaiting of the lam is not unusual in stucco inscriptions of the thirteenth century in the Upper Euphrates.

A robust chevron moulding in the shape of a capital M marks the division with the two stylised lotus medallions which in turn give way to a group of three mouldings. Each of these mouldings

spreads out into a cluster of a further three mouldings. This part of the carving and the thick platform which is settled on it, is one course of stone higher on the left. Both platforms have a pair of four tier niches at their base to crown the elongated space between the three lower mouldings. The purpose of this pair of torches is far from clear and it may be that there is an explanation which is not of a functional value; the level of the top platform seems too far out of reach for any traditional lighting device to be placed there as a regular practice.

The second group of carved decoration spreads across the second and third frames and makes use of their moulded profiles: first the sharp angle enhances the forward movement of the stylised flower, and second, the half-circle moulding allows the two leaves to branch out more gently. The left group seems to have been interpreted by a better craftsman than the right one. It could also be that the amount of protruding stone for carving was insufficient in the first place when the whole course of stone was placed in situ. When the time came to carve the right side, the workman had to contend with a smaller block than on the left side; he attempted some kind of symmetrical composition but could not recreate the same elegance. When Gabriel photographed the mihṛāb¹ the wooden minbar stood against the right part of the third frame thus hiding the less successful carving; a small niche had been cut out of the outer flank of that frame.² This explains the white plaster patch now visible.

The mihṛāb niche is the third area of the mihṛāb panel to have received appropriate decoration. By the thirteenth century it

¹MTA II, ph.72.

²A rectangular niche still exists in the 'Alā' ad-Dīn mosque in Nigde carved out of the inner flank of the stone minbar, MTA I, ph.36.

is usually crowned by a pair of spandrels which contains standard motifs of roundels and geometric patterns such as those in Nigde^V. Here the prepared stone surface is bare, but the intrados of the arch itself stands out in three successive levels and encloses the concave tympanum in its span (pl.22). In contemporary mihṛābs this part may be flat, or not exist at all, in which case the whole mihṛāb niche culminates in a mugarnas composition. The rectangular area below the tympanum is often lined by a pair of columns which encloses the recessed niche and its various geometric patterns. In Divrigi^V, the standard treatment of the columns has been set aside, although the profile shows clearly three sharp flutings where the columns should appear. These projections have been absorbed by the exuberance of the carving in the upper half of the recess and on its sides, where the whole composition may have been intended to overlap into the outer frames. As it now meets the eye, the space has been divided into three horizontal large bands, two of which have been completed. There is only an outline moulding for the last one; the upper limit undulates like a rope¹ and the lower one, 0.75 m above ground level, lies on what would normally be the top of the column bases.

Close inspection of the two higher bands reveals two recessings in the successive stone courses, and the second one shows up across the whole face of the mihṛāb panel. One more reminder of the standard column composition is the first recessing which could be assimilated to the base of the capitals, now optically flattened out by the geometrical rhythm of the composition (pl.22). The pattern is repeated with slight variations in the second band, the lotus

¹ MIAVE, ph.44, in the Mama Hatun mausoleum.

is no longer the dominant theme as it was in the first band and the conventional calligraphic knot replaces it. Similar knots exist in more or less angular shapes, in the inscriptions on the minaret of Jām as well as the stucco mihṛāb in Sinjār¹ (637-57/1239-59). In the Qara Serai of Mosul the knot becomes a purely decorative motif in its own right in a narrow band on a wall² such as it is in Divrigi^v. Even within the top band, unfinished areas show up in the background slightly left of the central part, and the final intricacies of the lotus flowers may be guessed at by referring to the completed ones at either end.

The only completed part of the mihṛāb decoration is the concave tympanum (pl.22). It consists of three tree-of-life compositions based on the stylised lotus motif theme with two smaller motifs between them. Towards its apex, two diagonal lines resembling thick down-strokes do not connect with the rest of the tympanum. It could be that once again the carving was left unfinished. This does not detract from the balance and effortless spacing which leaves enough background for the shallow relief arabesque to develop, especially in the lower part. The converging movement towards the apex reduces the three dimensional effect without hampering the rhythm. This decor relates to the sculpture of the hospital and north portals and, in the same way, distracts the eye rather than calls for mental concentration and meditation as would do a purely geometrical patterning.

A similar treatment of the tympanum area exists in the Zangid

¹Reise III, 12.

²Reise III, pl.97.

monuments of Mosul. At an early stage in the Great Mosque built between 566 and 568¹ (ph.85) the tympanum of the mihṛāb already contains in essence the profuse decoration without as yet the more refined control over the variations in the levels. This stage is reached during the long rule of Badr ad-Dīn Lu'Lu', who died in 657/1259, and before the Mongol onslaught. The free-standing mihṛāb which used to be in the courtyard of the same mosque, now in the National Museum in Baghdad (ph.86), illustrates a more evolved style in this kind of virtuosity: in its double tympanum, the top one contains a central tree-of-life but the lateral ones have been omitted; and by this stage the arabesque tends to outrule other themes. Such stone carving does not only occur in Muslim buildings and it seems that the same craftsmen may have gone from an Islamic site to a Christian one as J.M.Fiey submits quite plausible² as for instance from the mausoleum of 'Awn ad-Dīn in Mosul in 1248 to the monastery of Mar Behnām, further to the south-east near Karakush.

There is one last element of carving which rises vertically from the middle of the frame of the mihṛāb niche across the first and second frames; towards the top of the second frame this element splits open in the shape of a V and folds downwards to form an M. So far no parallels are available. It is easier to suggest how the frames might have been decorated by drawing comparison from the mihṛābs in Nigde^V and Dunaysir (ph.82-3); the frames are filled with geometrical star patterns strongly resembling wicker-work, and both have flat profiles. By contrast, the profile of the mihṛāb

¹Reise III, ph.5.

²AC, 597-8.

in Divriği^V moves gradually forwards from its centre to the sides and, like the portals, would allow vast relief sculptures as already indicated both by the gigantic torches and by the lotus flowers and leaves.

Incomplete as it is, the broad band across the top of the mihrab panel still attracts notice (ph.75); it consists of only five outlined elements, another six would be required to complete the composition. Two different motifs follow each other, both in turn take up the space of an equilateral triangle alternately facing upwards and downwards. From a distance their outlines look very stylised; magnified, their shapes may relate to two variant interpretations of the lotus flower. The core of the central vase-shaped lotus contains a tight pattern of small six-pointed stars; the two other completed ones consist of only one multi-pointed star not unlike the simpler star on the stone carving of the capital at the entrance of the mausoleum of Mama Hatun in Tercan¹ (ph.44). The top cluster of petals can only be guessed at while the background around the plant has not been carved although the bases of the lotus flowers have received enough shallow carving to underline an intricate series of arabesques.

The three existing lotus flowers illustrate the successive stages of carving on the stone surface. The whole background of the flower on the right has been carved out completely and only the outline of the lotus shows up; in the two other cases and especially in the central lotus, the skilful modelling of the surface emphasizes the change of levels and the intricacies of the stylised flower.

¹ MIASSE, ph.122.

It shows a certain similarity with the sculptures on the north portal, but these mihṛāb lotus flowers are wholly original.

Such decorative additions to the mihṛāb panel are not unusual especially over stucco mihṛābs. Probably the two most renowned are the mihṛāb of al-Afḍal (487/1094) in the mosque of Ibn Tūlūn in Cairo¹ and that of the Ḥaydarīya mosque in Qazvīn² dating back to the first half of the twelfth century. The difference between the first and the second example consists in the placing of the band; in the earlier composition the band is enclosed within the frame of the mihṛāb and in the later one it is set above and across the whole width of the qibla wall. In Hamadān, the mihṛāb of the mausoleum known as the 'Alaviyān³ also has a band of the latter type, but its proportions are unsatisfactory; it is too high for its width. In Jazīra too, some examples may be found, as in the corner stone mihṛāb of the 'Awn ad-Dīn mausoleum in Mosul⁴ which was built before the Mongol conquest. The corner band runs across the whole width of the outer frame of the mihṛāb.

In the Upper Euphrates, there does not appear to be any mihṛāb decorated in such a way which could predate Divrigi^V. There is a handsome but probably later one in Ḥiṣn-Kayfā built by the local Artukids (ph.87). In all the earlier examples, the division of the band alters from one mihṛāb to the other. In the mihṛāb of al-Afḍal the core of each flower motif contains a different geometrical

¹K.A.C.CRESWELL, Cairo Mosques I, 1949-53, no.21.

²Survey IV, ph.313b.

³Survey IV, ph.330.

⁴Reise II, ph.136.

pattern and the whole level of the stucco panel is constant. Because of the poor state of repair of the Haydariya mosque, the assumption is that the same number of nine full motifs was repeated with added exuberance, and the apogee was reached in Divrigi^V with its probable eleven flower motifs. The style then became more stereotyped¹ and disappeared subsequent to the fall of the Il-Khanids.

In the same way as a variety of sources has been remarked upon for the portals and the east window, it could be equally stated that similar diversity has been combined into the heterogenous decorative vocabulary of the mosque. Many architectural examples in a variety of building materials share the same practical and decorative characteristics and have been used here as comparative material in spite of the great distances which more often than not separate them. be it Cairo or Ani, Bukhārā or Konya. Further attention will be given to this point after the analysis of the hospital.

The hospital

Although this part of the building is sometimes referred to as a medrese² its foundation inscription (24) makes it unquestionably a hospital, al-Dār al-Shifā, a house of healing. This Arabic word has been used here in preference to the Persian equivalent, māristān, contracted from bīmāristān and Herzfeld³ gives a concise survey of the origins of this Iranian institution and recalls, as he quotes Maqrīzī, the foundation of the first māristān in Damascus

¹The mīhrāb of Öljeytū Khudābanda in the Great Mosque in Isfahan 710/1310 and the mīhrāb of the mosque of Marand 731/1330 illustrate the more mechanical side of the composition.

²CIA III, 77, No. 44.

³Damascus I, 2-3.

by al-Walīd in 88/707. Nearer in time, the Zangids and in particular Nūr ad-Dīn, who died in 569/1174, founded māristāns in Damascus and Aleppo. This royal custom of building and endowing hospices was also followed by the kings of Armenia, such as Thoros I (1100-1129) and later Leo III (1198-1219) and his daughter in Sis, the present day Kozan.¹ By the thirteenth century, the tradition was well established and the lay-out of the building followed an almost standard pattern very similar to the plan of contemporary medreses with three iwāns, looking on to a courtyard, the largest one in the middle facing the entrance. Already the māristān Nūrī in Damascus shows the same lay-out² in the middle of the twelfth century. No hospital appears to have survived in Anatolia before the building in Divriği, with the exception of the hospital of Kaykā'ūs I in Sivas which is on a monumental scale³ dated 614/1217-8.⁴ It consists of a large courtyard with only one axial iwān and an impressive number of rooms looking out on it. The central room on the south side contains the tomb of the sultan who died in 616/1219. A small number of medreses predate the hospital in Divriği⁵ and relate to it in some of their features. They have been included in two catalogues of medreses and hospitals in Anatolia.⁵ They are the Yagibasan medrese in Niksar⁶, dated to 552/1157-8 by an inscription on the tomb of Melik Ghazi with a dome over the central

¹V. Torkomian, "Un coup d'oeil sur l'histoire de la médecine en Arméno-Cilicie", Revue des Etudes arméniennes, 6, 1926, 19-26.

²Damascus I, 6.

³MTA II, 147.

⁴CIA III, 6-7, No.1.

⁵K. ERDMANN, "Vorosmanische Medresen und Imarets vom Medresentyp in Anatolien", Studies in Islamic art and architecture in honour of Professor K.A.C. Creswell, Cairo, 1965, 62, and M. SÖZEN, Selçuklular ve Beylikler devri, Istanbul, 1972.

⁶MTA II, 123-4, and AM II, 26-9.

courtyard and only two iwāns; the remaining two sides are lined with small rooms. Another example stands on the west bank of the lake Eğridir; Atabeg Mubārīz ad-Dīn Ertöküş built a medrese in 621/1224, re-using some Byzantine material. The building, like the hospital in Sivas, contains only one iwān and a mausoleum was added to it later. The plan shows four free-standing columns which link up with the central dome.

In the hospital of Divriği^V the same addition of four columns (pl. 21) to the plan also makes it possible to roof over what in Syria is an open courtyard. It is logical that not too big a courtyard should be covered to withstand the Anatolian winters; such an addition does not alter the basic ground plan (pls.5-6). The position of each pair of columns is governed by the width of the two side iwāns 29 and 39, which both have a depth of 3.50 m. In turn the distance between the two pairs is twice the width of the main iwān 31, 7.60 m. deep. Six side rooms open on the central court. There is an absolute symmetry on both sides of a line drawn from the centre of the main iwān to the middle of the entrance portal.¹ The consideration obviously given to calculating the balance and the distribution of the various rooms and iwāns indicates the kind of planning which could only come from an expert. His conception is for the hospital to stand on its own and, in fact, it does not relate in any way to the Great Mosque, although the same man has given his signature to both buildings. Yet there exists a rough passage from the tomb chamber into the mosque through the qibla wall. This is an ad hoc arrangement with its clumsy wooden steps down into the mosque and the coarse grill across the

¹There are two steps down from the central court into the hall, and only one from the hall out.

window. Judging from the two flaps of the wooden door, this opening could have been part of the Ottoman restoration, while the window looks too rustic and ill-proportioned to be original (ph.88). The tomb chamber itself with one opening into the mosque was already indicated on van Berchem's sketch¹ and on Gabriel's plan, although it was placed below vault No. 1; both openings are in fact under vault No. 2. Between the time of van Berchem's plan and Gabriel's, some of the doors were blocked up. In the final restoration these were reopened; this is the case for rooms 27 and 37 as well as for the tomb chamber. The door of room 39 opens nearer to the entrance end of the court. The west window in room 30 was not drawn. All these changes have been recorded by Ülgen on his 1962 plan, and finally the 1972 plan has not taken into consideration any specific level of the ground floor so as to be able to include all windows whatever their height and the tombs as well. These are arranged in three different groups in 36, 38 and 28 and are all oriented east-west. The two in iwān 28 and the seven in iwān 38 are anonymous. Out of the fifteen in the tomb chamber (ph.89) only four have been labelled recently. The notices read as follows:

- 1- Melike Fatime Hanim, Suleyman Şah'in esi, Ahmet Şa'in annesi.
- 2- Şifa Yardırmce yaptıran, Ahmet Şah'in esi Melike Turan Hanim.
- 3- Suleyman Şah bin Şahinşah.
- 4- Cami yaptıran Ahmet Şah'in Suleyman Şah.

In the first row of plastered tombs lie the wife of Sulaymān Shāh II and their daughter-in-law, the founder of the Hospital. Next to his wife in the second row is buried Sulaymān Shāh II in a tomb with stucco swastika decorations on its side; and in the same row next

¹CIA III, pl.6.

to him his son Ahmad Shāh, the sponsor of the Great Mosque; his tomb is covered with hexagonal copper oxide glazed tiles with overglaze lustre painting (ph.90); the decoration consists of the name of Allāh, on half the tile, on the edges or on the whole tile with either a simple line for a border or a lotus leaf scroll. The rectangular main body of each tomb is roofed by a tent-like shape and usually covered by a bright green rayon cloth. The bare ground, still apparent in 1971, has now been cemented in and as a result the chamber looks less derelict.

Although no conical stone roof appears over the tomb chamber in the earlier photographs, but only a tiled octagonal low pitched roof, it seems reasonable to assume that a dome and its stone cover existed originally since three of the original four squinch arches are still in place and the fourth lies on the floor of the hospital. Thus the restorers took a wise course when they reconstructed the cupola (ph.91) with its design of eleven concentric circles similar to the vault above the central part of the first floor (ph.104). The start of the two squinch arches above the east wall fans out into a semi-circle; at that stage the stones for the arch link up and a plaited border runs along its top. Close inspection of the cupola indicates the re-use of older stones. Its double tore is closely akin to those of other contemporary domes.¹ One other architectural feature of the tomb chamber may raise a doubt as to the original function of the chamber; it is seen in the arch which alters the rectangular shape by contracting it into a square so that the dome could be built (ph.92)² (pl. 6).

¹The mausoleum of Mama Hatun in Tercan.

²J.M.Rogers kindly brought to my attention the possible change of purpose of the tomb chamber from its original conception.

From the time the Turks began to settle in Anatolia, the normal burial monument for a prince or a high ranking official was a tomb tower made either of brick or stone according to what craftsmen were available, whether Persian, Syrian or local.¹ Towards the second half of the twelfth century some tombs were beginning to be included in the mosque precinct, as in the 'Alā' ad-Dīn mosque in Konya or in the hospital in Sivas. In Divriği the Amīr Shāhānshāh, son of Sulaymān I was the last one of that dynasty to be buried extra muros.² His son and grandson are both interred in the tomb chamber of the hospital.

The central court

Except for this tomb chamber all five others on the ground floor have functional barrel vaults. Yet the central court and its three iwāns unite into a powerful and original architectural composition. Two main problems seem to have faced the builder; first, such a coherent plan required a central opening for daylight with the addition of a lateral window, and second, the first floor on the south and west sides of the building should not in any way disrupt the unity of the central court. The two problems were solved in the unifying effect achieved by the vaulting system.

This consists of a lofty gothic vault which takes in the whole length of the central court, covering an area of approximately 72 m² (12 x 6 m.) The vault rests on a series of four arches: two are outlined by the main iwān at one end and the west wall at the

¹The Mangujakid tomb towers made of brick or stone in Kemah, R.E. ÜNAL, "Monuments salguqides de Kemah", Revue des études islamiques, 1967, published in 1968, 149-72.

²CIA III, 64-9, Nos.36-8.

other, and the two other arches spring from the two pairs of columns RT and SU at the centre of the hall. A magnified octagonal skylight, newly rebuilt, rests on the apex of these two arches, as well as on the sides of the vault and the four corner-cross beams in true Syrian style (ph.94). In this context the gavit plan (99, ii) is once more apparent with four free-standing columns and a central oculus.¹

The central skylight is matched on the paving level by a central ablution pool. Gabriel's photographic record² shows that some earth and elements of a rough paving covered the ground of the court and only a faint outline of the pool was visible. Nevertheless there must have been enough fragments left to be able to reconstruct the octagonal pool and its square stone shape flush with the ground level (ph.93). Two spouts similar in shape to the drain outlets of the roof would make possible the filling of the pool, while two rectangular overflows on the east side of it would drain the water into the square-shaped channel around the pool into a spiral outlet connected with a channel under the paving. This channel carries the water out of the building and two octagonal inspection holes have been included in the paving, one in the court and the other in the hall.

To preserve and even reinforce the sense of unity in the hospital, the capitals of columns RS and TU mark the point of departure for the springing of the two lateral arches and therefore only

¹The plan around the gavit itself has been altered slightly to suit the different purpose of the building.

²MTA II, pl.123, i.

their height have required separate adjustment. In the case of columns R and S the arch is lower in order to support the first floor on the south side of the hospital (pl. 7). On the other hand, such a support is not required for the linking arch between columns T and U and it can thus rise without restriction in a lofty curve to the full height of the building. Furthermore it makes the vaulting system of the iwān 38 behind it, completely visible from the court (ph.95).

As in the Great Mosque, the square plinths below the bases of the columns are more or less embedded in the new paving and in the case of column S it has completely disappeared although still slightly visible on Gabriel's photograph. There is no standard height for the columns and the arches appear to have been skilfully adjusted regardless of the lack of consistency in overall measurements. It is quite possible that the purpose of such plinths would have been to make minor adjustments in the height of the columns.

On the north side nearest to the mosque, columns U and T recall those in the mosque itself. They share the same tore mouldings at both ends of an octagonal shaft and the corners of the square capitals have also been turned into small mugarnas niches; although column T is the same height (ca. 4 m.), column U is 0.50 m. higher. At this point all other features differ from those of the mosque columns. The bases are shorter and square with potential inverted mugarnas niches across the angles to make them into an octagon to match the shaft. The cable moulding design on the capital in U is the most powerful of all in its bold intertwining. Below, the tore has been skilfully outlined into a sinuous pattern. The capital in column T although less intricate, also has a new decorative element

in the shape of a moon crescent.¹ A carved festoon marks the lower limit of the capital.

Turning to columns R and S, it is manifest that they belong to a completely different decorative vocabulary. Such a contrast is readily explained by the fact that, as they only measure 3 m., any resemblance with the other pair of columns would have created an unfortunate visual combination. Therefore they were conceived in a totally different style. They both stand on a square base with inverted mugarnas niches at all four angles. Their cylindrical shafts become wider at both ends when they spread out into different patterns. More sophisticated mugarnas niches at the top of column S stress the springing of the arch above it.

Both columns are heavily carved with variants of the swastika motif; although the shaft of column S is covered with a three branch swastika, a motif which creates small hexagons at regular intervals, this less conventional swastika makes it look wider than column R and conveys a feeling of great strength. On the shaft of column R the swastika only plays a linking part between the double T bar motif which repeats at right angles. The swastika reappears again as a major motif on both parts of the rounded base of column R and on the lower half of column S. A key fret pattern surrounds that upper half. Finally the most unusual variant may be noticed at the top of both shafts. A double braid makes up all four branches of the swastika; they are loosely connected so as to allow space for a small square in the middle of every motif; the outer braid of each swastika links up with the next one in a bold repeat.

¹This shape has already been noticed in a different context on the west portal (57).

It comes as no surprise that the swastika should be part of the decorative vocabulary of the thirteenth century ¹ since it has a very long history in the Middle-East and appears almost too regularly in decorative carvings from the Roman times onwards. Suffice it to recall four variants of it amongst which the double T bar in the Great Mosque of Diyarbakir² and on the minaret of the Muza'ffar medrese in Erbil, dated 586/1190-1.³

The flight of sixteen steps⁴ leading to the first floor is very steep, without a parapet and almost dangerous towards the top, where it comes very close to the springing of the last arch (ph. 94); there is not enough space for a person to stand upright. A deeply cut moulding on several levels, emphasizes the progression of the steps; most of it has been recut. At the levels of the eighth and twelfth steps horizontal mouldings run across the face of the stairs and, under the lower line of these, a niche has been carved out, slightly off centre. It is possible that more carving was intended around it in a style which recalls the steps leading up to the mosques in the courtyards of caravanserais.⁵

Other examples in the same style appear on the front of tomb towers. It is significant that up to the thirteenth century the entrance to the cenotaph level of a tomb was almost at ground level⁶ or, in most

¹It occurs most in metalwork.

²Amida, 158.

³Reise II, 315, ph.296.

⁴The two top steps and the bottom one are wider than the others.

⁵These buildings are usually square and a double flight of steps which leads to the prayer hall encompasses a mugarnas niche. Such an example may be seen in Agzikara Han on the road from Aksaray to Nevşehir, dated 634/1236, DAK, No. 27.

⁶MIAVE, 103, ph.95, for example, the tomb tower of the Amīr Salduk in Erzerum.

cases, up a very few plain steps. It seems that a more elaborate approach to the entrance was devised when access to the grave level itself changed to an outside door instead of down a flight of steps from within. Even later in the church of the Virgin in Amaghunoravank dated 1339¹ such a style of stairway was adopted. This particular architectural feature seems to belong to a purely Anatolian and Caucasian tradition and the use of only one single flight of steps in the hospital of Divrigi^v could be one of the first examples if not indeed the first one in this new way.

On the other side of the doorway to the stairs, at the same height as its longer horizontal moulding, a vast corbel (pl.27) juts out of the wall with no greater structural justification than the two torches of the mihṛāb. Its platform could conceivably have been used as a lampstand; from that height a fair amount of light would have spread to the whole court. A series of other ornate but smaller corbels (pl.27) and coupled roundels (pl.25), complete the decoration of the central court. If not identical to the corbels in crusaders' buildings they follow closely the decorative interpretations of such examples as in the castle of Tortosa (ph.71). Each window, on either side of iwān 38 (ph.95), has a small moulded archivolt which is reminiscent of the long Syrian tradition of framing the upper part of a building. The churches of Qalat Seman, end of fifth century (ph.62), and Aghtamar (915-921) are the best known examples of such a style.

The entrance wall opposite the main iwān is partly framed by an energetic moulding (ph.94); it contains a doorway and the first

¹AAP, 83, ph.59.

floor window. It echoes the shape of the almost gothic vaulting of the central court, and recalls the flattened outline of a mihrāb niche. In the same way, it is divided up into a tympanum with its window and a broad frame with the door. This frame is recessed in two mouldings which emphasize a smaller ribbed gothic arch with its bracket shape lintel over the doorway. The doorways into rooms 38 and 26 also have lintels treated in very much the same way, which recall for instance the hoods of two fire places in the Khān Nabk north of Damascus.¹ They can be either carved out of one piece of stone as in doors 26 and 38 (pl.25) or be voussoired like the doorway into the hall of the Hospital.

Main iwān

On first examination it seemed from the ground plan that room 34 (ph. 96) was a straightforward iwān and could therefore be assimilated to other plans of the same kind in northern Syria and Anatolia. Closer scrutiny of the hospital shows that in the iwān the initial direction usually given by the shape of the front arch has not been respected inside the rest of the vaulting system, which in fact springs from the four corners of the iwān in the space left available by the three vertical fan-shaped patterns on the three walls (ph.97). In effect the visual impact of the cross-vaulting stops short of the central circular decoration of the vault when all four spanning arches terminate in separate ribbed semi-cone mouldings. Four 'ukdas² with complex star carvings, fill the spaces between them. A rough attempt has been made at enclosing the circle, its outer octagon and the four

¹Damascus I, 50, figs. 37-8.

²Damascus III, 17.

'ukdas inside a broader four-pointed star pattern, but the border line of one course of stone is too irregular to satisfy the eye at first sight, rather one notices more immediately that the spiral motif inside the circle has been neatly carved and in place it skilfully follows the line of the adjusted stones.

Each of the fan motives is finished off by a cable moulding (ph.98). It runs around it, along its base and half way down its length, is slightly involved into a knot. The most spectacular tie is at both ends of the open fan where it encloses the stylised tip of the springing of each arch.

The central fan motif (ph.96) has suffered most of all from water seepage although the carved inscription of the builder picked out in brownish paint (26-7) is still quite readable. It runs across two juxtaposed stones just below the surrounding festoon. The fan radiates from a central 'ukda of handsome proportions, but very worn in its upper half. The motif on each slat resembles an elongated hour-glass with a disc in its middle; it is repeated ten times on either side of the central one and its size increases as it gets nearer to the ground. The bottom stone course is free of decoration. The shallow motif of each carving rides astride the join of two adjacent blocks of stone as if to divert attention from the join itself. An earlier use of this motif is found on the double arch under the larger multi-foil one above the entrance to the Great Mosque in Dunaysir (ph.99). It is there more tightly planned and makes up an attractive double pattern such as it does not achieve in Divrigi^V. The 'hour-glass' motifs are in relief, the space between each one is a hollow double-ended arrow head, cut in its middle by the stone join, the small roundel at the centre has been delicately carved. The motif is repeated four times from one arch to the next as it moves from the face of it

to its intrados.¹

The two lateral fans stand out more than the central one (ph.96). The right fan is the mirror image of the left one to the extent that the central fluting of one coincides with the reading on the other. In the left fan there are nine moulded slats on either side of a central one. They all end in a half-moon shape, and in the right hand one ten hollow slats fan out on either side of the centre and finish in the form of a shell. The base of both fans begins two stone courses above the rope moulding. In a simplified form, such fan designs exist as early as the first years of the eleventh century in the Cathedral of Ani, and in the upper part of many niches of Armenian churches. Georgian monastery churches in north-eastern Turkey² also have them. They must all have originated in northern Syria where the tradition was carried on and given a third dimension in the tympanum section of doorways of mosques and medreses, as exemplified again in the Great Mosque of Dunaysir. The use of such fan decoration in the main iwan creates an unexpected effect; in principle such large shapes should open up space, but in fact visually they offer no sense of depth; the only feeling of relief comes from the broad angle knottings.

In the same way as inside the main iwan, the decoration of the frontal arch starts nine stone courses above the platform level, itself being one course in height. The base line consists of a double row of stylised acanthus leaves over a thick moulding. Some of the

¹ Another of this type of pattern may be seen in the Kesik Köprü Han dated 667/1268, DAK, No. 21, pls.106-7.

² M. WINFIELD, "Some early medieval figure sculpture from north-east Turkey", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 31, 1968, (pls. 6, 31.)

central leaves and spaces in between, have added carving (ph.100). They are a simplified version of those in the Great Mosque of Rakka.¹ Sarre questioned a date later than the time of al-Manṣūr 754-75, for their carving. Their existence in the Hospital of Div^vrigi in the thirteenth century cancels his doubts and points to the restoration of Nūr ad-Dīn. In the second course of stone above the acanthus frieze, a roundel (pl.24) with its intricate geometrical composition stands out on its own on both walls from which springs the front arch of the iwān. This latter part is fully decorated although most of it has been damaged.

The outer face of the voussoirs is carved (ph.100), first with an outer band which frames the whole arch; it consists of an interlocking swastika pattern which outlines Y shapes; each line is fluted twice. Then comes a narrower framing band of criss-crossing small mouldings. Finally the main theme of this decoration is again a swastika, now more involved and framing at regular intervals eight-pointed stars and their inner arabesque carving. Here each line of the pattern is wide enough to allow space for a central moulding with one fluting on either side. The whole conception of this iwān is a unique example of decorative and building techniques being stretched to fit a most original plan never attempted again in its totality.

The inside decoration of the passage leading to the portal of Sultan Han near Kayseri (ph.101) should be mentioned in this context. In this example, the entrance arch does not spring to lofty heights and the length of the passage limits the size of the decoration of

¹Reise II, 361, fig.336.

the fan; it takes on instead the appearance of a half-sun with fifteen darting rays which radiate from a lobed semi-circle. Perhaps the same pattern was intended for the hospital central fan, but was never finished. The same double acanthus leaf frieze over a robust moulding also rounds the corner of the arch with the courtyard.

Each of the two lateral iwāns has a vaulting system of its own unconnected with the front arch. By far the more important of the two iwān 39 has a vault divided into two parts (phs.95, 102); the lower back part consists of a half-dome on five shallow outlined squinch arches. The two enclosed corner ones are real squinch arches with ten radiating ridges. The left one has a stepped ogee moulded frame, the right one a straightforward ogee frame. The centre of the vault structure is reminiscent of an octagon, but the stone facing looks very rough, while by contrast the clean-cut stone in the forward rectangle of the vault, which is one and a half courses higher, has been shaped into a close-fitting ensemble. The crossing of the arch movement resolves itself into a neat pentagonal key-stone. Its well-dressed surface shows a stylised pattern of floral design.

The disposition of the first floor across iwān 29 has prevented the building of a too elaborate vaulting system below it. It keeps to the shape of its front arch as far as the level of the wall of the central court. Then it turns into a system of its own; springing from the centre of the back wall, the vault spreads out into six elements on either side of two slightly marked arches on that wall. Both Gabriel's and Ülgen's plans convey an impression of complexity for the vaulting of iwān 29 which does not exist.

The central part of the hall vaulting¹ (ph.103) is a large four pointed star which encloses an octagonal frame. This frame, in turn,

¹Pl. 6, no. 35.

outlines a band with an arabesque pattern of controlled stylised lotus flowers. The very centre of the vault has a star in relief within an octagon not unlike the two stalactite stars of the north portal. The finishing touch is given by a double moulding which outlines the junction between the four walls of the hall and the star pattern of the vault.

The first floor of the Hospital includes a long hall (pl. 7) across the front of the building and three small rooms along the south wall. The long hall is divided into three parts which consist of an almost barrel-vaulted iwān on either side of the lower central area (ph. 104). The vault in the central area is a recessed circle shaped into a spiral pattern, and the four springers of the vault are reduced to four pendentives. In the series over the outer and inner windows two adjacent stones have received some unfinished stylised decoration. All the other rooms in the hospital are completely bare, without any decoration and only barrel-vaulted ceilings. This is usually the case in medreses where only the space allocated for public functions receives decorative treatment.

Combined plan of the structure

After having considered the plans of the Great Mosque and the Hospital as separate entities and found suitable parallels in both cases the question arises as to whether the coupling of two such buildings was part of a tradition or the beginning of a new one or again a unique example.

In the region of the Upper Euphrates no such composite building has survived, if indeed any were built. By tradition, the construction of a Great Mosque - Ulu Cami - came first in any newly conquered town. The Great Mosque in Sivas probably dates back to the early

conquest of the Dānismendids at the end of the eleventh century. In the same town the earliest remaining hospital is the vast building laid out by Kay-Kā'ūs I in 614/1217-8 as a separate entity. There would have been no reason to combine it with a mosque since the town was already provided with a suitable one. As for building the hospital alongside the mosque, this would not have been a practical proposition with such a time lag.¹ For this reason, most towns already having a Great Mosque only required the more recently established type of religious building such as a medrese or a hospital which would have to stand on its own in its own grounds. In Konya, the 'Alā' ad-Dīn mosque was founded in the first half of the twelfth century and twice added on to in the second half of that century and in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, as the capital grew in size. The medreses were built as separate entities beyond the walls of the citadel which contained the Mosque and, in fact, more to the glory of their founders than to celebrate the name of God.

Only a great lady like the wife of Kay-Qubādī I would have been justified in founding a vast complex of buildings in Kayseri: the Huand Hatun mosque dated 635/1237-8, the medrese with her mausoleum and baths. It comes as no surprise that this complex had to be built outside the town walls, presumably for lack of space within them. The same problem must have arisen for the new complex in Divriği^V where the Muslim population had outgrown the citadel mosque and a new site had to be found extra muros. In both cases of composite buildings there is no passage intended between the mosque and the medrese or hospital. The mausoleum or tomb chamber is only in physical contact with both parts through one common wall.

There remain in Kayseri three more religious foundations of a

¹The tradition is to build houses as quickly as possible within the neighbourhood of a religious building as is well-known from medieval towns.

dual nature which appear to share the same façade and roof. Possibly the earliest of these is the building which goes by the name of the Çifte medrese. Gabriel reconstructs the plan¹ and suggests that the first of the two constructions to be created was the Shifāya medrese in which he has not recorded a mihrab. Its marble inscription gives the date of 602/1205-6 and the name of the daughter of Qılîç Arslan III, in whose memory the hospital was built. East of it and with a common wall the Ghiyāth medrese follows almost the same plan of three iwāns round a courtyard with added rooms in between. Its traditional name suggests that it may have been founded by the sultan himself, Ghiyāth-ad-Dīn Kay-Khusraw I, between 601/1204 and 607/1210. A connecting passage leads from one to the other at the level of the main iwān.

In the case of the second composite building, Gabriel calls it a mosque² and Sözen a medrese³; it goes by the name of Külük. The difference between the two plans resides in the clearance work done after Gabriel's publication. The original plan of a mosque running into a medrese has been retrieved; each part has a different arrangement for its column lay-out, but they both fit under the same roof without any separation. Following van Berchem's record, Gabriel gives the date of 607/1210-1. Finally a controlled lay-out occurs in a third building known as the mosque and medrese of Hacı Kiliç dated 647/1249-50. Here again work in the field has made possible a better understanding of the ground plan since the work carried out by Gabriel.⁴ The latest plan shows a better controlled approach to the double plan

¹MTA I, 60-2.

²MTA I, 36-9.

³AM II, 93-5.

⁴MTA I, 52-4.

of a mosque and a medrese.¹ In this example the area occupied by the mosque is slightly larger than that of the medrese; in the Külük, it is almost identical. A survey of these examples does not make it possible to draw any general conclusions as to the various features of these related buildings. The orientation, the size, even the purpose of their two parts vary from one complex to the next and ultimately Divriği^v stands as an example completely on its own. Nonetheless, it may in the event be possible to indicate through these examples a general trend in religious buildings which demanded the combination of a mosque and a medrese, or a medrese and a hospital at a time when waqf endowments² were the best mode of expression for the more recently Islamised Turks and during a period of prosperity from the middle of the twelfth until well into the thirteenth century A.D.

It is as well to remember that a period of strong governments and hence prosperity, in Syria and in Jazīra, also made it possible for the Ayyūbids and the Zangids to promote such institutions and up to a point show the way to the more recently settled Turks in Anatolia. When Ibn Jubair³ travelled to Damascus in 580/1184, he mentioned in particular two medreses and two hospitals, one of them being new. By that time the Māristān Nūrī was already built on a three-iwān plan, and it is quite possible that it might have had a mosque attached to the south of it,⁴ this being the only example parallel with Divriği^v.

¹G. ÖNEY, "Kayseri hacı kiliç camii ve medresesi", Belleten 30, 1966, 377-87.

²J.M. ROGERS, "Recent work on Seljuk Anatolia", Kunst der Oriens, 6, ii, 1969, 134-69, especially 151.

³IBN JOBAIR: voyages, tr. M. Gaudefroy-Demonbynes, 6, 3, Paris 1953, 329.

⁴Damascus I, 7.

CONCLUSION

Although it has been possible to use a combined descriptive and comparative method to analyse the various components of the Great Mosque and hospital of Divrigi^V, the fact remains that such a method only makes possible a detailed survey which includes the identification of borrowed motifs and architectural elements. It does not bring forward a better understanding of the building as a whole. An attempt must be made to go a step further in the enquiry and try and discover the essence of this most spectacular of early Islamic Anatolian stone constructions.

As a first point it is to be wondered why, in most studies on Anatolian architecture, stone, the building material, is taken for granted after a very cursory review of older stone buildings in the area. Furthermore Anatolia as a geographical region never is properly defined nor are the mixed religious communities. Only when the moment comes to be more precise, as in the specific case of Divrigi^V, one realises through Le Strange¹ that the town is in fact catalogued in a region called Upper Euphrates.

It follows that a geographical study of the building history in adjacent areas to Divrigi^V may lead to a better understanding of its original character. The tradition of stone cutting and building goes back into the early history of Anatolia with its extension into northern Syria and northern Mesopotamia²; the stone constructions of the Urartians, the Hittites and the Assyrians, were an integral

¹G. LE STRANGE, Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, Cambridge, 1905, 119.

²A look at the map will show that these two areas combine into the upper valleys of the Tigris and the Euphrates.

part of their culture. Later the Graeco-Roman era witnessed the same tradition of stone carving and building for monumental structures in a style slightly altered to suit the context.

The Byzantines took over these techniques especially on the Asiatic mainland away from Constantinople where they also used rubble bound with mortar and brick bands; the strong stone fortifications in Melitene and Amida along the border areas with Islam, are amongst the more complete Byzantine remains of that period. Very few of their ecclesiastical buildings have been preserved in Anatolia though quite a number of their fragments have reappeared in mosques and caravanserais; Byzantine carved capitals enhance the columns of the 'Alā' ad-Dīn mosque in Konya. The Great Mosque in Diyarbakir and the outer walls of the Sadeddin Han twenty kilometres north of Konya¹ include large slabs of sculptured marble from some earlier local Byzantine construction. Nevertheless there still exists some earlier Christian buildings which do not link up directly with the Orthodox church in Constantinople. Setting aside the monastery of Alaran near Mut and the complex of churches known as Binbir Kilisse², the main churches and monasteries of this next group are situated in an area stretching from the Mediterranean to the region of Mosul, which includes the Tur-Abdin in southern Turkey and the monasteries of northern Mesopotamia.

Whereas in the area of the Upper Euphrates, the Christian Jacobites under Islamic rule could no longer maintain their churches

¹DAK, No. 28, pls. 184-9.

²W.M.RAMSAY and G.L.BELL, The thousand and one churches, London 1909.

and were dispersed, the Nestorian church in northern Mesopotamia¹ managed to survive and accepted as neighbours the drifting Jacobites; they even prospered under the Zangids and especially under their last atabeg, the Armenian slave Badr-ad-Dīn Lu'lu' who died in 657/1259. The second half of the twelfth century A.D. and the earlier part of the thirteenth witnessed a true revival of the Christian arts in this area which shared its exuberant modes of expression with the 'Abbāsīd and Zangid courts. Both religions north of Baghdad often built in stone and shared the same repertoire of motifs and the same masons as can be seen in the church of Mar Behnām south-east of Mosul and in the Nūrī mosque and the mausoleum of Imām Bahir, both in Mosul.

Although it did not have the same official position as the Nestorian church, the Armenian church was able to keep up its religious buildings under late Sāsānīd as well as under Islamic rule. Here again the long-standing tradition of stone building never disappeared and it is sufficient to compare the Manūchīhr mosque, late eleventh century A.D., and the surrounding churches of the site of Ani to understand the close cooperation between the builders working under the patronage of the two faiths.

This series of examples shows the constant use of stone buildings in Anatolia, Greater Armenia, the Upper Euphrates and northern Iraq, be it the pre-Islamic tombs in Syria with their pyramidal roofs or the churches of northern Syria, the Tūr-Abdīn, Nissibin or those around Erevan or Lake Van. The early link between

¹MSP, 134. The Nestorian church was tolerated by the Sāsānīds as the only official Christian church.

these areas was the monks of Syriac language who brought Christianity to Armenia from Syria and who, for some time, after the Armenian church as such was established, provided from their own ranks some members of the Armenian higher clergy. This may explain how it is that almost up to the Islamic conquest, Syrian and Armenian churches often shared a similar lay-out such as a basilical plan, and decorated their outer walls with much the same motifs; the almost omega-shape moulding above the windows is a case in point.

After the disruption created by the swift spread of Islam, the Syriac link between northern Syria and Greater Armenia completely ceased to exist and the kingdom of Armenia in a last flourish of independence, developed its own style of religious buildings even more, with its domed cross-in-the-square plan and with the final innovation of a new type of narthex, the gavit, in the eleventh century. The decoration, at the same time, became more ornate than the previous aniconic and sober northern Syrian style well illustrated in the churches of Qalat-Seman (ph. 62) or Qalb-Loze.

From the time of the collapse of Byzantium at Manzikert in 1071 A.D. to the rapid ascendancy of the Georgian kingdom under Queen Tamar, two new shifts of population, besides their political implications, brought about alterations in the artistic development of Anatolia. The new kingdom of Lesser Armenia on the shores of the Mediterranean attracted those members of the Christian population who wanted to escape the Seljuq invasion in north-eastern Anatolia; they transferred their culture to Cilicia and in particular their building repertoire as can still be seen in the remains of the church

of Saint Thomas south-west of present day Antakya.¹ Earlier displacements of Armenians under the Byzantine emperors Justinian I (527-65 A.D.) and Maurice (582-602 A.D.) helped in a way to spread their culture through Anatolia and eastern Europe. Under the Macedonian Leo VI (886-912 A.D.) a whole group of Armenians filled the vacuum east of Caesarea abandoned by the Paulicians. The second shift of population also occurred from east to west with the substantial influx of Turkic tribes under the leadership of Sulaymān the Seljuq who penetrated as far as Nicaea after the battle of Manzikert.

It seems that around that time baked brick buildings began to be constructed in Anatolia. With the additional stucco decoration, baked brick had for long been the chief material of eastern builders in the Sāsānid and Kushan empires; Islamic Persia and to a certain extent, 'Abbāsīd Mesopotamia continued that tradition of building best exemplified in Transoxiana.² In Anatolia these building materials were sparingly used in mausolea such as those of Kay-Kā'ūs I in his hospital of Sivas and of Melik Ghazi in Kemah, to which may be added the long series of brick minarets from the Cifte Minareli in Erzerum to the Yivli minaret in Antalya.³

¹J. MERCERIAN, Expédition archéologique dans l'Antiochène occidentale, Beirut, 1965.

²The use of the words Central Asia in this context would be much too vague although Transoxiana still has too broad a meaning. Here it is intended to cover the areas of present day Soviet republics of Tadzhikistan, Uzbekistan and Kirgistan.

³O. BAKIRER, "Anadolu'da 13. Yüzyıl tuğla minarelerinin konum, çekil malzeme ve tezyinat özellikleri", Vakıflar Dergisi 9, 1971, 237-62.

Early thirteenth century A.D., glazed bricks and faience mosaic started to appear in greater quantity to enhance brick or stone walls and domes. Faience mosaic was most successfully employed in various mihṛābs from Afyon to Van which are mainly datable to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries A.D. and often reveal the signature of a Persian craftsman.

Despite its recurrent use in parts of religious buildings, brick never superseded stone as a construction material in Anatolia although it almost did so in the Great Mosque in Eski Malatya, built in 647/1247, where both the main iwan and the mihṛāb dome were evolved from true Persian prototypes. A reluctance at using real brick may be seen in the stone slabs of the portal in the citadel mosque in Divriği^V, which are carved in a manner imitating brickwork. As to the Great Mosque and hospital, not one brick is to be seen in the whole monument and the only concession to any alien material may be found in the glazed tile revetment of some of the tombs (p. 89 and 90).

It should be emphasized that all the earlier monuments of the Mangujakids in Divriği^V point to a conscious desire of the rulers to use stone in their official buildings unlike some of their relatives in Kemah. The tomb towers are completely faced with ashlar but the citadel mosque only in its most important elevation around the entrance. The rest of the walls are made up of coarse blocks of stone like most of the east wall of the Great Mosque and hospital. In all the earlier examples of buildings in Divriği^V, it would seem reasonable to suggest that an average-sized team of masons, either locally recruited or from some neighbouring town, could have built any one of these monuments on its own. On the contrary, it is by now self-evident that no one team of masons could

have dealt with the whole fabric of mosque and hospital with the added intricacies of the decoration.¹ Nevertheless one man must have supervised the building of the whole structure and it is fortunate indeed that both parts include the signature of the same man: Khūrshāh, son of Mughīt from Akhlāt (26-7). Whether he was asked to come from Akhlāt specially for this particular construction or he and his father had found it wiser to leave the western shores of Lake Van during the raids of the Khwārazm-Shāh,² the fact remains that Khūrshāh's signature may be read in the intrados of the arch on the west side of the mihrāb dome, admittedly with difficulty; in the hospital, too, the signature appears but far more clearly across the soffit of the main iwān at the end of the main axis of that building (ph. 10). Very few mosques do include within their walls the signature of the builder, which may explain why on the one hand it is not easily noticed, and, on the other, the name of Khūrshāh is more in evidence in the hospital.³ Inscriptions inside mosques usually relate to some specific part of the decoration, be it a faience mihrāb or a wood-carved minbar.

The fact that Khūrshāh included his signature twice under the same roof must point to the fact that he was personally responsible

¹Present day evidence goes against the suggestion that there might have been local expert masons readily available especially for the stone carving. Whereas in such towns as Akhlāt and Mardin the stone building tradition is carried on right up to this day, it is not the case in Divrigi where even the best houses are built of wooden beams and mortar on a rough stone foundation.

²Jalāl ad-Dīn besieged Akhlāt twice and finally took it in 1229 A.D.

³The custom is usually to place the signature inscription on the portal on some high part of the mugarnas niche or even above it, as in the case of the 'Alā' ad-Dīn mosque in Nigde (ph. 31).

for the lay-out of the interior of the mosque as well as for that of the hospital with the addition of both complex vaulting systems. It is to be wondered what term should be used to qualify Khūrshāh's function. Since the record of L.A.Mayer,¹ the problem of the architect as such in Islam during the Middle Ages seems not to have received any further attention, the reasons probably being the very few indications given by contemporary literature as far as relevant texts have been studied, and the loose meaning of the words applied to the man in charge of a construction: mi'mār, bannā or muhandis,² if ever he was given one, which is not the case for Khūrshāh, in Divriği.^V Such terms are not only used in the field of architecture, but also in connection with the applied arts and it is not unusual for an architect at a later date to be remembered by a piece of ceramic³ rather than by his buildings, which were more often than not no longer extant.

It would probably be wiser to avoid the term architect⁴ which conjures up the image of a highly professional modern specialist. Instead, the term master builder would fit in better with what is known of the building scene in the Middle Ages;⁵ such a man would have been able to understand the "methods of planning and design,

¹L.A.MAYER, Islamic architects and their works, Geneva, 1956.

²IA, 25.

³IA, 27. L.A. Mayer illustrates that point by referring to a blue and white tea-pot in the British Museum signed by Maḥmūd mi'mār Yazdī and dated 1025/1616. See G. FEHÉRVÁRI, "An early eighteen century Persian blue and white" Studies in honour of Sir Mortimer Wheeler, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1970, 140.

⁴L.A.Mayer does question the existence of a true architect in the modern sense within the Islamic world, IA, 19.

⁵J. GIMPEL, Les bâtisseurs de cathédrales, Paris, 1958. The author does not use the word architect either.

besides the craft skill of masonry, carpentry or quite often both trades".¹ There is no doubt that Khūrshāh, like any other European contemporary builder, must have had great practical experience² but, even so, should not be confused with a plain stone cutter or carver. On the contrary, the execution of such a programme in Divrigi^V shows understanding of such problems as load-bearing and intricate stone-joining. The interior complexities of mosque and hospital alike point to an experienced master builder, so does the unusual quality of all three portals, although there is no trace of attribution on any of them. The signature of one Ahmad (25), a name all too common in Islam, does appear on the lesser east window but provides no further details about the man himself.³ He certainly could not have been responsible for the three portals, in which case it remains to suggest that Khūrshāh was the overall coordinator if not the draughtsman for them and that he supervised if not recruited whatever teams of stone-masons and cutters were available at the time. They could have come from the hospital in Sivas, ended in 616/1220, from the 'Alā ad-Dīn mosque in Nigde^V, finished in 620/1223, and from the Mas'ūdiyya medrese in Diyarbakir also dated 620/1223.

Whatever the case, the master builder of the Great Mosque and hospital of Divrigi^V must have relied on some knowledge of geometry to conceive and bring to completion this complex structure.

¹ MA, 89.

² MA, 51.

³ It could in fact belong to a skilful stone-mason, although Gabriel relates this unfinished signature to that on the walnut minbar (MTA II, 188) and suggests that the same man was responsible for both window and minbar which seems improbable as will be seen below.

The question arises as to what concepts were available to craftsmen at the start of the thirteenth century A.D. A brief survey of the history of geometry¹ shows that the first important centre of learning in the Muslim world was the capital of the 'Abbāsid empire, in the first half of the ninth century A.D., where influences both from the east and from the west in fact met. It suffices to recall the newly founded Bait al-Hikma in Baghdad under the caliph al-Ma'mūn (198/813-218/833) for whom al-Hajjāj b. Yūsuf b. Matar made a second translation of The Elements of Euclid; the first one was done for Hārūn ar-Rashīd ca. 790 A.D.. Besides, in about 210/825, Muḥammad ibn Mūsā al-Khwarizmi translated the first manual of Hindu Reckoning; the combination of knowledge of these two series of scientific data would foster, it seems, a broader understanding and apprehension of space problems.²

Although such symbiosis took place under the last truly omnipotent 'Abbāsid caliphs, it does not follow that the knowledge, thus acquired and discussed by a small body of learned scientist-philosophers, ever reached the man in the street. It must in fact have remained very much in the realm of philosophical speculation which occasionally led to various applications, in particular within the field of astronomy.³ Such a state of affairs also occurred

¹In Arabic, 'Ilm al-Handasa, the science of measuring, from the Persian andakhtan. It was one of the four propaedeutic sciences besides arithmetic, astronomy and music.

²From India appears to have come the so-called Arabic numerals, including the sign for zero (in Arabic, Sifr meaning empty), an all important factor for more sophisticated calculation; gifts from Byzantium included, amongst other Greek texts, The Elements of Euclid, which had made possible at an earlier date the further development of geometry in the school of Alexandria.

³In Arabic 'Ilm al-Hay'a, the science of the figure (of the heavens).

in western Europe during the Middle Ages well into the thirteenth century, although by then a distinction existed between theoretical meaning speculative, and practical meaning active, geometry.¹ Even as late as 1220 Leonardo Pisano, the Italian geometer who spent some time in near-western Asia, excluded the practical side in his Practica Geometriae, in spite of the title.

The parallel between the Muslim and European worlds illustrates it seems, as it still does to this day, the actual dichotomy between scientific research and its active implementations in every day life. When it does in fact occur, the reasons which have made it possible are seldom understood. Thus if practical knowledge of new steps in geometry were to be applied to the construction of a building, it would be rash to assume that the builder of the early thirteenth century in Anatolia would have been literate enough to go to the very source of his art and to understand the theory behind it. As in all other trades at most times, the craftsman could only have mastered the traditions of his art. The fact that new theories were formulated at the time did not lead to immediate practical implementation. Only in such specific examples as the buildings of the Cistercian monasteries did one have, within a few years, the direct utilisation of the building rules set out by Saint Bernard of Clairvaux in 1134. The explanation of such prompt results is no doubt to be found in the high discipline of that monastic order and in the use of a measure, the great unit.²

¹The best examples which implement this geometry are to be found in the sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, fr. 19093, C. 1235 A.D., edited by H.R. Hahnloser, Vienna, 1935, especially pls. 361 and 45.

²B. KOSSMANN; *Einstens massgebende Gesetze bei der Grundrissgestaltung von Kirchen Gebäuden Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte* n° 231, Strasbourg 1925.

More often than not there was a time lag and this may be particularly noticed as one tries to understand the gradual development of Islamic architecture and decoration. It cannot be said that Sāmānid or Būyid art made a clear break away from Sāsānid traditions. On the other hand the dome chambers in the mosques of the Jibāl and the medrese plans of the Great Seljuqs must have reflected new ideas allowing a fresh approach to space and surface; further decorative examples can be found in terracotta compositions of their Khūrāsān caravanserais (ph. 110). By that time, although remaining a great centre of knowledge, Baghdad had to concede its monopoly¹ to stronger powers who, at the same time, took over some of the patronage of the arts and sciences. Very soon the result was to be seen in their pious foundations, a sponsoring of new concepts to create a new style, not only under the Great Seljuqs but also under the Fāṭimids,² the Ayyūbids and the Ghaznavids.

Early in the thirteenth century, under new sponsors in Anatolia, builders adopted current geometrical practices such as the use of the square as a basic unit, known as the origin of all harmony, and the so-called Persian arch which is calculated from a rectangle made up of two contiguous squares. Although no equivalent of blueprints such as the sketches on plaster floors of York minster or Wells cathedral³ have yet been found for early

¹The first time was under the Būyids in 334/945. Then in 447/1055 when Tughril entered Baghdad and was confirmed sultan by the caliph al-Qā'im.

²The Dar al-Hikma was founded in Cairo by al-Hākim.

³J. HARVEY, The master builders, London, 1971, 33, fig. 16.

Anatolian mosques, it should not be too difficult to follow the mental process of the master builder in charge of the Great Mosque and hospital in Divriği. His implements could not have been more sophisticated than a ruler, dividers, a plumb-line and level.¹

Given the task of planning a composite building on a hill-side, the builder would have avoided the shape of a large square difficult to place on an uneven and narrow terrasse. The next best shape could be two contiguous squares ADFE and FEBC (Drawing No.1,206), oriented north-south, the only religious direction. The dividing of this rectangle ABCD into a mosque and a hospital would therefore be governed by a south qibla wall, one or more entrances for the first building, only one entrances for the second with its central courtyard. There is no rule against a mosque having a square ground-plan, although a hospital in that shape would be too wide to allow suitable daylight from the central courtyard into convenient rooms. Thus the mosque would have to occupy more space than the hospital and the latter could only be a rectangle oriented east-west, its longer side BC being equal to the width EF.

Once more basic geometry may give the ideal measurement for the shorter side GC of the hospital. Since the ground-plan consists of two contiguous squares, a diagonal can be drawn between any opposite corners; half the diagonal will give the measurement² of the width GC of the hospital, in other terms, its share of the west elevation. The new square CEO'F with OE=GC, covers two-thirds of the hospital surface, from the portal

¹ L.R. SHELLEY, "The level and the plumb line", Technology and Culture, 2, 1961, 127-30.

² It is in fact the length of the side of an inscribed square within FEBC with apices in the middle of each side of FEBC. A sketch of this figure has been drawn by Villard de Honnecourt on his page 20 recto, fourth line, second drawing from the left.

to the start of the main iwān and its two lateral rooms GHJC. The width JB of the remaining third, equals the side of the mihṛāb dome area HK which also corresponds to one-sixth of the total length of the ground-plan; the third of the hospital surface also equals the combined areas EKHN and LMGF on either side of the mihṛāb dome area KLMH. Beyond the dome area and its two transepts EF, the main part of the mosque lies to the north, within half the whole surface of the ground-plan, that is to say the second square AEFD. To avoid undue monotony, this square AEFD has been skilfully divided into two series of rectangles which enhance the rectangular feeling already indicated by the division of the two transepts ENHK and LMGF into two in a north-south direction. These rectangles either correspond to the areas of vaults eight, thirteen, eighteen, twenty-three or to the others. It is remarkable to notice so few discrepancies between the ideal ground-plan and the measurements in situ, since it is known that well into the Ottoman period the only equipment used to mark out the boundaries of a building was nothing more sophisticated than a peg and rope.

Besides the clarification of the ground-plan, a further group of problems must be examined; it consists in the position of the portals and the windows of the mosque in particular, as analysed from the inside. They appear to have been planned in the most haphazard way and it is only when considered from the outside that the logic of their placing is revealed. Thus the hospital portal is placed in the middle of the hospital west wall, the west portal to the mosque also in the middle of its western wall. That this central focal part of the outside of the mosque does not coincide with the east-west axis of the inside comes as no surprise, since the

subdivisions of the bays do not follow a grid pattern based on the whole area of the mosque, but only on its square portion. It therefore follows that the regular position of the windows, as seen from the outside, cannot make sense from the inside.

The position of the east window in the middle of the east elevation is the only one to have been governed by the inside structure of the mosque. Had it been sited in the middle of the elevation, it would have clashed with the springing of the arch between vaults one and six. As it stands now, it does not fit either in the centre of the outer wall of vault one or in the centre of the east elevation, but by being slightly off-centre, it still gives adequate daylight to the mihṛāb area.

In such an elaborate building as the Great Mosque and hospital in Divriği^V, the next step in its planning would be to decide what type of portal to plan for the two entrances to the mosque and for the only access into the hospital. Emphasis should be placed, it seems, on the qibla portal¹ which stands at the end of the main axis of the mosque. It also faces the citadel, the focal point of temporary power. Therefore the qibla portal, with its pīshṭāq outline, rises well above the cornice of the north elevation and it comes as no surprise to see the richest carvings ever to be found in Anatolia on its lavish frame composition. As to the west portal, it can only claim to be a subsidiary entrance into the mosque, standing as it does at the end of its shorter axis. As a result, it has been conceived along more traditional lines with new details only in some of the decoration and in the

¹This name is usually given nowadays in Turkey to the entrance facing the mihṛāb panel.

interpretation of the central mugarnas niche. It is integrated in the height of the wall which, by necessity, conditions its overall size.

In the case of the hospital portal, the height of the wall governs its measurements since it is one third higher again than that of the mosque in order to allow room for the additional first floor. It would have seemed clumsy to plan the hospital portal along the same lines as the west one when their heights could not be the same;¹ consequently the traditional rectangular frame has given way to a very unusual double arch with its higher keystone at the cornice level of the wall.²

At this point it should be remarked that only a basic knowledge of practical geometry implemented by a ruler and dividers is required to draw such sketches and ground-plans. No further equipment need be used to calculate their measurements even when specific requirements have to be taken into account. In fact it is to be wondered why the building under discussion does look anything else but banal, which leads one to search for an added factor in the planning and decoration of such a monument. This factor is none other than a basic unit specially chosen by the master builder and used by him to compose the different portals and ground-plan.³ This vital factor remains the prerogative of the builder, it can only be handled by him and could be compared with the tonal key of a melodic line; in each separate instance, it is altogether a

¹This situation recalls that of columns R and S inside the hospital; they were given a completely different treatment from columns T and U to prevent any comparison and make coexistence visually acceptable.

²The Ottoman rebuilding behind and above the outline should not be taken into consideration in this analysis.

³It need not be the same one in every case.

visible and hidden unit which can be best exemplified in the hospital portal.

Besides its most unusual double archway, one more surprising feature calls for attention and it is in the shape of a puzzling mullion-like column CC' in the rectangular window above the entrance. Further study reveals that the height of the column occupies one-fifth of the total height of the portal JZ, with twice its height CJ above it and twice its height CZ below it. Consequently the height of the portal equals five times the height of the column and its width four times. Although the word module with all its modern connotations first comes to mind, it has been thought preferable to call the measurement of the column by the word unit. This will be the visible basis for all the implied measurements which may be found in the elevation of the hospital portal.

The two outer capitals are the only two other visible repetitions of the height of the column. If the portal were a square LMFG, their top would indicate the limit of the height of the portal. As it is now, most of the outer arch rests on the top of the capitals and spans a space limited by just one more unit in DEML.

The height QX of the rectangular area PQXY below the column is twice the unit, its width XY, one seventh more than the unit and the height of the inscription PS is also one-seventh of the height of the rectangular area. The width of the area left over on either side of XY equals one and a half units, GY=XF. The half unit XV gives the width of the plain ashlar frame round the entrance rectangle. One unit GW=VF is the width of the composition columnal system. The remaining line WV equals two units, which correspond to the distance between the centre O' ' and O' ' ' of the two outer roundels.

The base line GF of the portal equals four units which is the general width of the whole portal. It equals also one side of an equilateral triangle AFG with its apex in A, the upper point of the lowest central five-pointed star of the tympanum decoration. The intersection of lines drawn from apices A, F and G to the middle of their opposite sides, coincides with the lower side of the door pattern in N. One more identical equilateral triangle may be drawn between the centres H and K of the head roundels, and the apex J of the front arch, thus triangle HJK equals triangle GAF. A smaller equilateral triangle may be drawn by linking A to the centres O and O' of the two inner roundels; OO' equals one unit. An identical triangle may be found in OO'A', A' indicating the lowest part of the foundation inscription.

By now it should be evident that the column-unit governs the proportions of the hospital portal and at this point no further purpose would be served by carrying on the demonstration. However, the double archway requires some explanation which may again be based on the same unit. WV equals two units, so does O' 'O' ' ', the diameter or base line for the setting out of the keystone for the inner arch. It is a four-point arch¹ which means that the two radial lines of the keystone must be drawn from two different centres along the diameter, one being at two-sixths of its length and the other at four-sixths. The outer arch is a more straight forward geometrical design: an almost semi-circle with its centre at the top of the central column, springing from the outer capitals.

¹L.R.SELBY, "Setting out the keystone of pointed arches: a note on medieval Baugeometrie, Technology and Culture, 10, No. 4, 1969, 537-48.

Although the visible appointment of the column as a basic unit for the hospital portal has made possible the further analysis of the double archway and its enclosed façade, no similar lead comes to notice at first sight in the three decorated openings of the Great Mosque. The fact that the shape of Islamic portals usually follows the same conventions, has already been noted, whether it is a pīshṭāq like the north portal or an elongated panel integrated in the main wall like the west portal or more specifically the east window.

For the non-Islamic observer, these shapes offer neither striking details nor suitable material for comparison with better known types of architecture. The portals do not conform with standard rules of proportion similar to those of the Graeco-Roman world, nor do they produce a satisfying sense of balance for the uninformed eye. The most disturbing feature is not so much the type of arch itself, be it third-pointed or so-called Persian¹ but the height from which it springs in relation to the various types of columns. Only through methodical if tiresome analysis have certain unexpected features been noticed in earlier descriptions, features which otherwise would have been lost to the eye in the general impact of the multiple frame arrangement; they in turn may be explained by the concealed geometrical system.

Since the ground-plan of the whole building has been solved by the geometrical analysis of its lay-out, it comes as no surprise that the lead for the portals should also be found in the same type

¹For the geometric formula of this type of arch, see J. BOURGOIN, Precis de l'art arabe, Paris 1892, I, pl. I.

of discussion. Once again the double-square convention has been used in the planning of all three openings, although it does not refer to the complete outline but governs more subtle proportions within the rectangle of the portal. In addition, a further lead is often found in a salient decorative feature and, if none can be seen, in the foundation inscription which, by all accounts, stresses the whole raison d'être of a building and acts as a focal point as may be noticed both in the west portal and in the east window (drawing no. 3). In the specific case of the latter, the inscription is not in the middle of the whole rectangle and furthermore the rectangle does not add up to the double-square convention. For these very reasons, a new lead must be sought in the series of frames which lays emphasis on the opening. By a procedure of successive deframing¹ it then becomes possible to reduce the rectangular outline of the window to a true double-square shape. This shape can be implemented visually by the emphasis given to it by the inner line of the right angles of the cable spandrels (68, ph.39); the vertical line is carried right down along the inner face of the two pillars. In such a rectangle the inscription is now set in the middle of the double-square area. More details such as the unexpected elongation of the double twist on both ends of the cable design may be explained by the wish to avoid a visual break halfway down the rectangle. It also stresses the elongation of the third-point arch and the forty-five degrees mugarnas niche emphasises in the same way the accent on the elongation beyond the middle part of the east window.

¹The dearth of terminology in the descriptive field of Islamic architecture, has once more led to the creation of a new word: deframing. At this point of the discussion, it is but an attempt to qualify a visual function and could be replaced by a more scientific word.

By deframing the west portal (Drawing No. 4) in the same manner, the double-square rectangle may be found at the level of the fifth frame (56, pl.13) with its central cabochon laying emphasis on the upper limit of the rectangle along the middle of its larger horizontal band. The shared line of the two squares cuts across the middle of the foundation inscription. First a circle, then a hexagon, may be inscribed in each square thus underlying a variety of intersecting points and interesting angles. A further revealing geometrical drawing would consist of a complex of three overlapping hexagons with the main centre in A and its outer limits along the first frame in a, not included in the drawing.

The north portal with its perplexing appearance has already been reduced to a series of manageable frames (pl. 9) and the only other surprising feature of the decoration is the hexagon above the door (Drawing No. 5).

The geometrical figure of a hexagon has already once been used in the west portal to outline it and calculate its focal points and angles. In the gibla portal (Drawing No. 5) it stands out as the visible lead to its geometrical construction. The diameter of the circle which contains it becomes the basic unit; the total height of the portal adds up to seven units, when it is measured as far as the horizontal moulding in the second frame (34, pl.11) Half the total height coincides with another horizontal moulding (50, ph.3) set as a dividing line between the foundation inscription and the upper moulding of the doorway. A circle may be drawn from its centre with a radius of three units in which can be inscribed a hexagon with its apices at the top and at the bottom of the portal. Its vertical sides enclose the outer capitals of the

second frame (34-5) and thus indicate the outer limits for the shafts of the first frame and their star decoration.

In addition, another circle may be drawn with a radius of only two units from the same central point; another hexagon may be inscribed inside it. In this instance, its vertical sides will join at the centre of the four roundels belonging to the fourth frame and its apex will be that of the soffit of the star-arch in the fifth frame (46). Thus the vertical lines of the two hexagons enclose the first four frames of the north portal as if to indicate the limits of the deframing process on this portal. What now remains in the centre is an area which complies with the double-square rectangle and once again its general outline is visible in the uncarved spandrels of fine ashlar (43) and the vertical shafts of the slender columns (45). The dividing line of the two squares is set at the apex of the thematic hexagon and the third-point arch becomes the top accent for the whole doorway. From such a geometrical plan it is easy to calculate for instance the height of the central lotus flower carving: it is the distance between the apex of the largest hexagon and the limit of the double-square rectangle.

The geometrical plan of the mihṛāb panel (Drawing No. 6) may also be added to the general demonstration. It appears to be the only decorated panel based on a square outline. The crossing point of its diagonals gives the apex E of the mihṛāb arch (111-3, ph.81). A horizontal line drawn from that point will indicate the springing of the capitals belonging to the giant torches. The fact that all three frames have remained uncarved, makes it easier for the eye to apprehend the two-square rectangle ABCD. The side AB

of the square equals three-fifths of the radius of the inscribed circle in the large square panel and the three successive frames, with the exception of the outer top horizontal one, all have a width of one-fifth of the radius.

Although no system of basic geometry seems ever to have been applied to the understanding of Islamic Anatolian monuments,¹ nonetheless a more architectural approach is to be found in the recordings of the Timurid buildings of the Soviet Republic of Uzbekistan.² But in this case a completely new system of geometrical figures is applied, from the middle of the fourteenth century A.D., well over a century after the building period of the Graat Mosque and the hospital of Divrigi.^V

It is not within the scope of this study to try to unravel the origins and evolutions of geometrical concepts as applied to Islamic architecture in Turkey and Syria at the beginning of the thirteenth century A.D.. A first step has been to outline a possible geometrical demonstration of the ground-plan and the portals in the light of the presumed scientific knowledge of an expert master builder of the time. Doubtless Arabic texts are awaiting translation which would assist the art historian in his research. Meanwhile the present demonstration has shown a surprising consistency in the use of specific geometrical figures both in the

¹Two attempts have been made in the last ten years to interpret Anatolian portals, chiefly based on epigraphical and photographical evidences: S. OGEL, Anadolu Selçuklulari'nin taş tezyinati, Ankara, 1966, and B. BREND, Composition and decoration of some portals in Anatolia in the pre-Ottoman period, London, 1973, unpublished M. Phil. thesis.

²For a study of ground-plans and elevations, see G.A.PUGACHENKOVA and L.I.REMPEL, Vydayushchiye pamyatniki arkhitektury Uzbekistana, Tashkent 1958.

ground-plan and in the portals. Besides the double-square rectangle, the use of the hexagon¹ and equilateral triangles² reveals a practical understanding on the part of the builder which allows him to translate a plan without a scale into an actual building by the use of a unit-yardstick, alterable from one construction to the next. A further study of Anatolian portals would certainly confirm this point and bring new data to the subject as a whole.

Probably the most constant and specific feature of all Anatolian portals remains the multiple frame system which brings to notice and forcefully emphasizes, as it would for a Rembrandt or a Goya painting, a very precise point, the entrance into an important building or the prayer niche of a mihṛāb panel. In the Great Mosque of Divriği^V, the treatment of the north portal typifies the ultimate stage in the development of frame decoration in use as far east as Uzkend in the entrances of the two mausolea dated 1152 A.D. and 1186 A.D., also in the Magoki Attari mosque in Bukhārā of the twelfth century A.D.. The list of pertinent mihṛābs enclosed by a frame system has already been given (111-20) for the Jibāl, the three Dars and Āzarbāijān. The four framing systems in the particular case of Divriği^V offer the best synopsis

¹Whether or not the hexagon was intuitively the prevailing geometrical shape in western Islamic Asia before the Mongol conquest still remains to be proved, nonetheless an illustration of its vital importance as a shape can be found in contemporary America in the works of Buckminster Fuller (R. BUCKMINSTER FULLER, "Conceptuality of fundamental structures, 66-88," Structure in art and science, ed. G. KEPES, London 1965)

²P. FRANKL, "The secret of the mediaeval masons", Art Bulletin, March 1945, 46-60, 48.

of detailed motifs available by 626/1228-9 for later decoration of Anatolian stone monuments, although none of them ever shows the same boldness and originality in composition and use of these motifs, with the possible exception of the later Ince Minareli in Konya.¹ Only the west portal as a whole and, to a certain extent, the east window, may visually compare with the later series of Anatolian portals.

Although the main function of a framing system is to emphasize the area it encloses, nonetheless, it may claim the added function of enhancing it as well, by its own decoration. Contemporary stone-masons were well aware of this decorative potential and made full use of the available motifs. It is obvious that the rigid limits of a frame must condition this decoration, its motifs and arrangements in a similar manner to the border stripes of a carpet or the margins of a Qur'ān. When consideration is given to the complete vocabulary of Divrigi, it becomes clear that its frame ornamentation can be divided into two groups, not mutually exclusive in terms of their motifs and arabesque lay-out: on the one hand, the purely geometric motifs without embellishments and on the other the more three-dimensional carvings which are chiefly vegetal in inspiration.

In the first instance, simple geometric patterns are ideally suited to fit into any framing system and even the more complex arrangements of the west portal and the east window have been organised in such a manner as to be conveniently cut off across

¹An interesting analysis regarding the dating of this monument may be found in B. Brend's thesis, 183-4, who suggests a date of construction shortly after that of the Şāhib Atā mosque dated

the star repeat (56, ph.31, 68, pl.14).¹ The advantage of such patterns lies in their infinite capacity to expand. This characteristic was probably noticed and developed at the same time and for the same reasons as the new departure from traditional architecture by the Great Seljuqs (151). Whereas an inquiry into this architectural transformation would, at this point, be out of place, a historical survey of the second group of patterns chiefly based on vegetal motifs, might explain the transformation of single and regularly framed motifs into sophisticated geometrical compositions which reached a climax in Divrigi.^V

When decorative motifs and patterns² are enclosed by a framing device, there exists, of necessity, a relationship between the frame and the motif, whatever the medium under consideration, be it stucco, terracotta or different kinds of stone. In the Sāsānid stucco patterns of Ctesiphon (ph.106)³ a visual balance is struck between the bud-and-leaves motif and the frame around each one of them. In the frame, beads and rosettes are round, small, octagonal or lozenge-shaped, systematically juxtaposed with no attempt to create anything beyond an overall pattern. Although a more elaborate bud-and-leaves motif still survives in Sāmarrā when it rises to the

¹M. Keene of the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, New York, has made a thorough study of J. BOURGOIN, Les éléments de l'art arabe, Paris 1879, in his dissertation for the American University in Cairo, 196. He has very kindly identified the east window geometrical system as No. 118. As to that of the west portal, it is no. 171 and he describes it as "perhaps the most natural and the single most popular of the Islamic ten-point star patterns". Amongst other examples, he has recorded it in the Dunaysir mihrāb dated 1200 A.D.

²Several motifs may be repeated and thus form into a pattern.

³Guide-book to the Staatliche Museen in East Berlin, 1970, ph.4. Before the sweeping conquests of early Islam, the Sāsānid empire extended briefly as far west as the Mediterranean at the time of the fall of Jerusalem in 614 A.D., and as far east as the Oxus in Central Asia. Some of the decorative motifs in Ctesiphon at that early stage, might have come from these eastern borders of the empire.

status of capital in the ninth century A.D. (ph.105),¹ a new order of magnitude intervenes in stucco decoration. Whereas the traditional motif-and-frame pattern could be applied to any surface, it is now the outer border of this surface which plays the part of a master frame whether it is a wall panel, a window decoration or the soffit of an arch. In turn, the master frame encloses subsidiary frames of different shapes, often connected together with loops (ph.107).² Even greater sophistication appears in Rayy, Nīshāpūr³ and Afrāsiyāb⁴ in the tenth century A.D.

The urge to fill the master frame with more striking decoration, on the outside walls of the buildings as well as on the inside ones, not only led to the invention of a material capable of withstanding climatic changes,⁵ but also induced a conscious reduction of emphasis on subsidiary frames as such, which, at this point, harmonize and almost compete with the motifs as to which of the two would create the greater visual impact. The stucco decoration of the Hājji Piyāde mosque in Balkh (ph.108) is a good case in point, as is the carved marble slab from the palace in Ghazna (ph.109), both examples probably dating from the eleventh century A.D..

By the time of the Seljuq decline and the collapse of the Ghaznavids in the middle of the twelfth century A.D., two new characteristics should be noted. First the subsidiary frames no

¹K.A.C.CRESWELL, Early Muslim Architecture, Oxford 1940, II, pl.76c.

²Guidebook to the Iraq Museum, 1966, ph.48.

³E.J.GRUBE, The world of Islam, London 1966, 45, ph.22.

⁴PR, ph.104.

⁵J.M.Rogers has kindly pointed out the new use of terracotta from the eleventh century in eastern Persia.

longer exist or rather their framing function is translated and carried by the motifs themselves: the outline of the double-lobed leaves frames the central bud as in the Rabāt-i Sharaf, restored in 549/1154-5 (ph.110). It could be suggested that the subsidiary frames now become part of the motifs and, because they are frames, they join together as in the earlier ones of Sāmarrā (ph.107). Such new joining leads to a progressive type of ornamentation: the arabesque, which has been noticed in the north portal (pl. 12). An extreme case of the combined frame-motif may be seen in the three decorative braids of the minaret of Jām (ph.111), end of the twelfth century A.D.. In both latter examples little relief is to be noticed in the terracotta, its level remains constant and the master frame becomes the only conscious delimitation of the decoration.

The second new characteristic to appear in frame ornamentation in the twelfth century A.D. proceeds from the Sāmarrā bevelled style in stucco¹ which was carved in deeper relief. After the ninth century A.D. this new bevelled style was also developed in other media, such as wood on the doors from the mausoleum of Maḥmūd of Ghazna now in the fort of Agra, and marble in the mihrāb of the shrine of Imām 'Abd al-Raḥmān in Mosul between 576/1180 and 589/1193. Such relief carvings appear as well in the stucco mihrāb of the Zawāre Great Mosque (551/1156-7),² where the outer frame contains its own frame-motif patterns; they, as a whole, generate

¹R. ETTINGHAUSEN, "The 'beveled' style' in the post-Sāmarrā period", Archaeologica Orientalia in memoriam E. Herzfeld, New York, 1952, 72-83.

²A. GODARD, "Ardistān et Zawāre, Athār-e Irān, 1936, 2, 285-309, 303, ph.119, 307, ph.204.

their own frame. It is worth mentioning that in the same mosque, the earlier soffits of some arches (530/1136-7) have, in contrast, perfectly flat stucco decoration neatly contained in two series of frames.

In instances when the master frame has not completely disappeared, it is relegated to the background as in the Ḥaydarīya mosque in Qazvīn (ph.112)¹, where the relief stucco of the third frame moving towards the miḥrāb niche consists of a succession of more or less elongated braided hexagons not unlike those which rise from the base of the minaret of Jām (ph.111). Consecutive groups of two or three bud-and-leaves compositions stand out strongly in relief and are linked to one another by what appears to be a small vase carved over the crossing of the braids. It should therefore come as no surprise, on examining the lowest group of carvings in the fourth frame of the north portal in Divriği^V, that the outer lines of a very subdued frame (39) (ph.113) should appear in outline under and behind the arabesque composition carved in relief.

Again in the north portal both high relief carvings and frame-motifs combine to create what must be the last stage in a rivalry between frames and motifs, when for the last time the relief motifs prevail in as much as they exceed any rigid frame control and stretch almost beyond their ability, as may be noticed in the precarious carving of both giant leaves (ph.19). As far as one knows, no such latitude was ever again to be displayed in the composition of Anatolian portals and after 626/1228-9 only separate

¹A.GODARD, "Les anciennes mosquées de l'Iran", Athār-e Irān, 1936, 2, 187-210, 200, ph.136.

relief carvings were sparingly included in frames, and the rest of the low relief decoration recoiled into more rigid, almost normalised frames, best illustrated in Sivas and Erzerum. The stucco work in Iran under the Il-Khanids, did seek, in a way, to recreate the earlier type of framed reliefs as in the Great Mosque in Rezaiyeh or in the mihṛāb of Öljeitü in the Great Mosque in Isfahān. But the decoration had become more stereotyped and it eventually had spent itself by the time of the Timurid onslaught. The growing appeal of level faience mosaic had taken over from carved reliefs.

Two final points arise from this analysis of carved reliefs and frames. First it is to be wondered why such elaboration in the sculptural quality of the whole composition on the north portal should have been executed on the very side of the mosque which receives no sun except in the very early hours of a summer's day. The carving could not have been planned to catch the sun at different times of the day as would be the case on the west portal of a church; it could only have been thought as a challenge per se, meant to supersede any stone carving or stucco work done up to that time. The sheer prodigality of the fourth frame recalls not only earlier stucco or terracotta prototypes but also a certain type of arabesque from more contemporary illuminated manuscripts such as No. 7729¹ dated 1205 A.D. in the Matanaderan library in Erevan. The same feeling of opulence is noticeable in the development of elongated arabesques and many other Armenian manuscripts include vertical entwining constructions of a similar nature in margins of their pages, but usually of a later date.¹

¹A.SH. MNATSAKANIAN, Armanskoe ornamental no iskusstvo, Erevan 1955.

No sense of relief is ever suggested in such marginal designs which simply remain two dimensional drawings, and this very characteristic may explain the second point: the flat decorative carving within the variable surfaces of the large lotus flowers and giant leaves, might unconsciously aim at smoothing out whatever relief could have been suggested by the carving, thus tending to bring back the whole three-dimensional ornaments to a plan surface (ph. 23).

In so far as it has been possible to analyse and explain the ground-plan of the whole building, its portals and different aspects of their decoration, one inherent tendency has prevailed and re-states itself constantly in the very characteristic of two-dimensionality, whether it is in the use of plane geometry, the infinite wicker-work patterns or even the flat decorative carving on the variable surfaces of the north portal.¹ Yet another group of decorative elements may be based on the same principle of flat ornamentation. It consists of a series of roundels which mark and even emphasize focal points of interest in both parts of the building. They may be grouped into two different types.

The first type, only to be found outside, stands out from the face of the wall under a crescent hood. Two pairs decorate the hospital portal and one pair may be seen in the fourth frame of the north portal (phs. 19 and 48). As mentioned previously (38) (ph.24), this type has been recorded as far east as the minaret of Jām and its decoration belongs more to the geometrical repertoire than to

¹It is obvious that beyond the study of Divriği the magnetic attraction of two-dimensionality was irresistible in all decorative aspects of Islamic art. It may be seen in manuscript illumination or ceramics and metalwork where, for the purpose of decoration, the bodies are handled as a flat surface and therefore can be submitted to this same two-dimensional treatment.

the vegetal one. In both portals the point stressed by the three pairs of roundels seems to be roughly at two-thirds of the height of the portal, indicating a staging point in the development of the vertical shape and relating it to its geometrical plan.

Whereas the first type of roundel does not appear inside the building, the second type, carved in low relief, may be found inside as well as on the portals and even on the ashlar walls as in the case of the roundel to the left of the west portal (ph. 114). A small triangular carving marks the lower part of it and the whole composition seems to be placed near enough the mugarnas niche above the falcons to attract attention to that outer part of the portal. The same type of roundel must have also existed on the right hand side of the west portal for the same purpose, since a similar small carved triangle is still apparent in the wall.¹ The roundel itself must have disappeared at the time of the Ottoman ashlar refacing.

There are two more roundels, one beside the other, on the far wall facing the west entrance inside the mosque (pl. 23) and placed fairly high up, difficult to appreciate at such a distance. One possible explanation for their setting would be to stress the second east-west axis of the mosque. Unlike the exterior low-relief roundel, these latter two approach the oval in shape, roundel r1 is made up of four stone slabs and roundel r2 of only two, one above the other. They have no beaded outline, as opposed to the west elevation roundels, and the whole impact of their arabesque carving seems heavier, not unlike the carving on the side

¹On Gabriel's photograph, MTA II, ph.69.

pilasters (ph. 50) by the stone coping of the hospital portal. On the other hand, they could be compared with an unpublished roundel carved in the soffit of the inner arch of the doorway in Sultan Han near Kayseri which is dated a few years later than the mosque.¹ This may point to the work of local craftsmen trying their hand at a new style of carving.

Inside the hospital, the roundels are also carved in low relief and may be divided into two groups: the single roundels on the inner face of the main iwan (pl. 24) stand slightly away from the wall and are based on an intertwining double swastika pattern. In roundel rh2, the twelve-sided stars outlined by the pattern, contain a subdued bud-and-leaves motif which does not detract from its whole geometric impact; its border is made up of a three-braided plait. In roundel rh1, the border consists of a sinuous line interwoven with a scroll. A hexagon in the same spirit decorates a face of a capital in the gavit of Makaravank dated 1207.²

The second group of hospital roundels may be seen above the doors into rooms 27 and 28. They are carved out of the stone lintel and consist of two major roundels on either side of a smaller one (pl. 25). A double-grooved circular frame links all three roundels with connecting loops in between them. Besides being a regular feature of Byzantine decoration,³ in their composite form, they also fill the marble spandrels of doorways in Aleppo and Konya.⁴

¹ DAK, No. 26, 90-7.

² AAP, 57, ph.29.

³ Y. DEMIRIZ, "Atabey'deki Ertokuş medresesinde Bizans devrine ait devşirme malzeme" Sanat Tahiri Yilligi, 4, 1970-1, 87-100.

⁴ Damascus II, fig. 83.

The motifs enclosed by the frames, although still strongly geometrical, are reminiscent of the elongated leaves in the recesses of the west portal. Both lintels of the side doors in the hall of the hospital have two roundels (pl. 25) of prepared but uncarved stone with the different levels already outlined.

Since it can be applied to practically any vacant wall space, roundel ornamentation is an ideal form of decoration. They are often to be seen in pairs on Anatolian portals (phs. 43-4) in the thirteenth century A.D.. In a different religious context, a borderless star-shaped carving marks the lower part of a pendentive in the church of Saint John the Baptist in Ganzasser dated 1216-36 A.D. (ph. 115).¹ In the Islamic world, the most impressive composition of the roundel type is to be found in Damascus, carved in stucco in the 'Izziya medrese with a waqf dated 624/1226-7.² It seems hardly necessary to stress any more the simultaneity of the decorative vocabulary which extends from the Caucasus to central Syria and beyond Damascus to Egypt.

Although it is impossible to describe in one essay the immense variety of the decorative vocabulary in the Great Mosque and hospital in Divrigi,^V a last paragraph should nevertheless be devoted to the lotus flower, one of the most constant ornaments in Asiatic art. As a motif, the lotus flower has a long history in Egypt and belongs to the divine attributes of the Achaemenian kings;³ for the present purpose it is sufficient to recall that its

¹B. ARZUMANEAN, Armenian churches, 1970, no No.

²Damascus III, 71, fig. 41.

³Survey I, 867.

new lease of life in early Islam dates from the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. when it is used with immense variety and ease especially in book ornament, particularly in the Ibn al-Bawwāb manuscript.¹ Even a cursory look at the diversity of margin decoration (ph.116) will be enough to reveal how stylised the lotus motif already was in Baghdad before 1021 A.D.. By the end of the twelfth century A.D., Persian manuscripts of the Qur'ān were written on a background of stylised lotus flowers² and handsome illustrations accompanied texts such as the Kitāb al-Diriyak, written in Mosul, with a great variety of vegetal arabesques as support for the kūfic, as well as textile patterns.³ Parallel vocabulary of lotus flower decoration may equally well be found in Armenian, Byzantine, Latin Kingdom and Syriac manuscripts and it is in the Armenian ones that the best arabesque compositions with the lotus flower have been preserved (ph.117).⁴

Throughout the analysis of and commentary on the monument it has been all too obvious that parallel examples, whether in the realm of architecture or in that of decoration, have had to be drawn from an immense range of sources and materials,⁵ scattered along the Silk Road from Central Asia to Anatolia. Despite endless fighting between Crusaders, Armenians, Seljuqs, Ayyūbids and

¹D.S.RICE, The unique Ibn al-Bawwāb manuscript in the Chester Beatty library, Dublin 1955, pl.9.

²D. and J. SOURDEL, La civilisation de l'Islam classique, Paris 1968, pl.11.

³F.FARÈS, Le livre de la Thériaque, Cairo 1953, dated to 595/1199.

⁴A.SH. MNATSAKIANIAN, Armanskoe ornamental no iskusstvo, Erevan 1955, Mss. 4509, dated 1217, 24, fig.60

⁵Chiefly from architectural examples to avoid possible changes of emphasis.

many others, regardless of religious and political boundaries, this simultaneity of decorative themes in the thirteenth century A.D., brought together in one building, might be expected to make the monument look like some other earlier specimen, but in fact this did not occur even though there is juxtaposition of already well-known components.

The reason for such originality may be explained by the eclectic personality of the master builder Khūrshāh who, by the originality of his creative talent, managed to coordinate and harmonize in one building a maximum of diverse components. This building could easily have been purely Armenian¹ in inspiration, since his origins could be traced back to eastern Anatolia. For this very reason, it seems most probably that he was directly responsible for the complex vaulting system, although the corbels (pls. 26 and 27) have a distinctive Latin Kingdom flavour. A good example of his eclecticism would be the mihṛāb dome which derives from the Jibāl tradition with further development in Dunaysir and Silvan; a lesser personality would have simply made use of the plainer type of ribbed dome known at the time in the Mama Hatun mausoleum of Tercan. Yet it is true to say that the columns in an Armenian tradition outnumber by far the only two different ones in the hospital which belong to the Upper Euphrates tradition, although Khūrshāh was not afraid to make use of the latter pair to create an aesthetic feeling of contrast in the central court (pls. 94 and 95). As to the portals, it is by now evident that

¹There is a reluctance to use the word Caucasian because of its racial connotation.

several teams of masons were drawn from different geographical and cultural backgrounds, each of them bringing its own idiom.

Khūrshāh the master builder orchestrated a multiplicity of idioms in a unique composition, only possible, one presumes, for a man with his background which made him receptive to the many currents of ideas and styles prevailing at the time. Furthermore, in such an architectural adventure as the Great Mosque and hospital of Divrigi^V, it is not enough to plan a composite monument and build it; both structure and construction must create between them enough tension to give the monument a specific techtonic¹ quality and this unique techtonic quality was Khūrshāh's gift and his only. No other building, as far as it is known, has been traced to this very special master builder.

It has been often wondered why so many detailed carvings have been left unfinished, especially since it is well known that religious buildings in Islam unlike Christian ones, were brought to completion as fast as the handling of the stone and the subsequent complex carving permitted, given suitable weather conditions. A possible explanation should be sought in the contemporary political scene.² Although in the first decades of the thirteenth century A.D., the richest sovereign in the world was in fact the Sultan of Rūm³ it comes as no surprise that one of his vassal

¹E.F.SEKLER, "Structure, construction, techtonics", Structure in art and science, ed. G. KEPES, London 1965, 89-95.

²A similar situation occurred in the convent of Mar Behnām (ph.118), south of the road which links Mosul to Erbil. (G.PREUSSER, Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmäler altchristlicher und islamischer Zeit, Leipzig 1911, ph.7, i). When the Mongols took over Mosul in 657/1259 the prepared stone of a doorway was left uncarved not unlike the roundels in the hospital of Divrigi (pl.25).

³C.CAHEN, "Le commerce anatolien au début du 13ème siècle", Mélanges d'histoire du moyen-âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen, Paris 1951, 91-101.

princes should have decided to invest his own personal wealth in the building of a mosque and hospital. This new construction was to look more impressive in certain respects than the remodelled 'Alā' ad-Dīn mosque of the Sultan in Konya.¹

Up to the time of the total defeat of Jalāl ad-Dīn in 628 A.H., the sultan Kay-Qubādh I had been forced to either fight and defeat those who did not side with him, like the Mangujakids of Erzincan in 622 A.H., or presumably accept with relief the outward submission of such nominal vassals as Sulaymān Shāh of Divrigi^V, whose strength and wealth, depending on mines on his lands and the revenue from trade, were not to be challenged at that stage. This position of almost total independence in turn would have allowed Sulaymān Shāh, uninvolved as he was, to embark on an important building programme perhaps as early as 623 A.H.. The fact that he died soon after this date would explain why, by the time the inscriptions came to be carved, it was the name of his son Ahmad Shāh, who then ruled over the Mangujakids, which was included on the foundation inscription in 626 A.H..

Two years later, Kay-Qubādh I, by now the uncontested Sultan of Rūm, after his victory over Jalāl-ad-Dīn, would have required total submission from his vassals. Visibly a rushed work (ph. 4), the broken inscription on the north portal, the more important of the two entrances into the mosque, pays tribute to Kay-Qubādh I. It must have been done at a time when only the last carvings on the whole monument remained unfinished and most of the portal had

¹IA, 97, 617/1220.

been completed (52-3). As to the deeds, it could be submitted that Ahmad Shāh had to pay a money tribute, not an unreasonable demand from a state which could afford such monuments. But this in turn must have prevented the completion of the carving on the portals and on the mihṛāb. Possibly another reason for the unfinished carving, would have been the compulsory draughting of all available craftsmen by Kay-Qubādh I and his entourage for the purpose of an intensive building programme. The next fifteen years indeed were going to see the construction of many caravan-serais amongst them the Sultan Han on the Kayseri-Sivas road which contains several features of the hospital of Divriği^V, and the series of religious buildings in Kayseri itself.

It is hardly a coincidence that within a year of Kay-Qubadh I's death in 634 A.D. and the ensuing disruption of the central power, Ahmad Shāh repaired part of the citadel wall with the addition of a new gateway¹; the inscription does not mention any suzerain. Although by the time Ahmad Shāh, once more his own master, could have been able to complete the unfinished work on the building, it would have been impossible to bring together again the scattered craftsmen, all the more so at a time when the whole country was under the threat of a Mongol invasion. The only possible addition to the mosque was the wooden minbar carved in 638 A.H.² by one Ahmad, son of Ibrāhīm of Tiflis, one year after

¹CIA III, 88, No. 51. This type of work does not require specialised masons.

²CIA III, 81-2, Nos. 48 and 49.

the sack of Ani by the Mongols. Additional repairs had been carried out on the citadel in 640 A.H.¹ when finally the Sultan of Rūm was defeated by the Mongol invaders at the battle of Köse Dag^V on 6 Muharram 641/12 June 1243. A few days later by the middle of that month, a waqf was promptly set up both for the mosque and the hospital (28-9, phs. 120-1). The last mention of a Mangujakid is to be found on a tower of the citadel, dated 650/1252². After this date no important monuments were ever built again in Divrigi^V and the town itself never regained the importance it must have had under the Mangujakids (ph.119).

Although it might come as a surprise that in this study the adjective Seljug has not been used in connection with the Great Mosque and hospital of Divrigi^V,³ it is by now quite evident that this monument built in the first half of the thirteenth century A.D., does not typify as a whole, any particular regional or dynastic style, but is a syncretic vision of many scattered idioms; yet monuments of the second half of the century, which draw heavily on the architecture and decorative vocabulary of Divrigi^V, could well come under one title: Anatolian art and architecture of the second half of the thirteenth century A.D.,⁴ since they can no longer be called dynastically Seljug. Mongol

¹CIA III, 88-9, No. 55.

²CIA III, 89, No. 56.

³DK, 122-9, Professor D. Kuban in fact adopts the same course without making any further statement.

⁴Such a title is indeed cumbersome but has the advantage of avoiding historic implications which do not always correspond to artistic development.

cannot really be used since the Mongol occupation of Anatolia did not really initiate a new architectural or decorative style. Yet it brought a climate of stability¹ which allowed the arts to develop in a comparative manner to that of China, at the opposite end of the Mongol empire, under the Yuan dynasty.²

In their most western outpost in Asia, Anatolia, the Mongol rulers encouraged whatever techniques and decorative vocabulary were available at the time of the conquest. It was therefore possible for the complete repertoire of Divrigi^V to be fully used and transformed into a typically Anatolian style in such towns as Kayseri, Sivas, Erzerum and even Konya. Usually carved out of stone the motifs grew duller, the patterns became more stereotyped and the carving lacked in genuine grace. Even the monuments in their planning showed much less enterprise. It was not to be until the early days of the Ottoman rule that architecture and decoration in Anatolia regained some originality and elegance.

¹J. M. ROGERS, "Recent work on Seljuk Anatolia", Kunst des Orients, 6, ii, 1969, 134-69, 136.

²M. MEDLEY, "Chinese ceramics and Islamic design", The westward spread of Chinese influence, Percival David colloquies on art and archaeology in Asia, No. 3, 1972, 1 ff.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 'ABD AR-RÂZIQ, A., "La Chasse au faucon d'après des céramiques du Musée du Caire", Annales Islamologiques, 9, 1970, 109-21.
- ABGARIAN, G.W., The Matenadaran, Erevan, 1962.
- ABRAHAMIAN, V., Art in Armenia 4th-18th Centuries, Erevan, 1956.
- AKOZAN, F., "Türk Külliyyeleri", Vakıflar Dergisi, 8, 1969, 303-8.
- AKURGAL, E., Treasures of Turkey, Geneva, 1966.
- ANDERSON, J.C.C., "The Campaign of Basil I against the Paulicians in 872 A.D.", The Classical Review, 10, 1896, 136-40.
- "The Road System of Eastern Asia Minor with the évidence of Byzantine campaigns", Journal of Hellenic Studies, 17, 1897, 22-44.
- ARBERRY, A.J., The Koran interpreted, London, 1955.
- Architettura Medievale Armena, Rome, Palazzo Venezia, 1968.
- AREL, H., "Divriği: Darüşşifası Gotik Portali", Vakıflar Dergisi, 5, 1962, 113-25.
- ARIK, R., "Erzerum'da iki Cami", Vakıflar Dergisi, 8, 1969, 149-56.
- ARZUMANEAN, B., Armenian Churches, Lisbon/Erevan, 1970.
- ARSEVEN, C.L., Les arts décoratifs turcs, Istanbul, ca. 1950.
- ATHAR-E IRAN, vols. 1-4, Paris, 1936-49.
- BACHMANN, W., Kirchen und Moscheen in Armenien und Kurdistan, Leipzig, 1913.
- BAKIRER, O., "Anadolu'da 13. Yüzyıl tuğla minarelerinin konum, çekil malzeme ve tezeyinat özellikleri", Vakıflar Dergisi, 9, 1971, 237-62.
- BALTRUSAITIS, J., Etudes sur l'art médiéval en Géorgie et en Arménie, Paris, 1929.

- BALTRUSAITIS, J., Le problème de l'ogive et l'Arménie, Paris, 1936.
- L'Eglise cloisonnée en Orient et en Occident,
 Paris, 1941.
- BARRETT, D., Islamic metalwork in the British museum, London, 1949.
- BARTOLD, V.V., Four studies in the history of Central Asia, 3 vols.,
 Leiden, 1962-3.
- BELL, G.L., Amurath to Amurath, London, 1911.
- Churches and Monasteries of the Tūr-Abdin,
 London, 1913.
- BERCHEM, M. van, "Monuments et Inscriptions de l'Atabeg Lū' Lū de
 Mossoul", Festschrift Th. Nöldeke, Giesen, 1, 1906.
- BERCHEM, M. van and H. EDHEM, Corpus inscriptionum Arabicarum, 3rd
 part: Asia Minor, Cairo, 1910.
- BERCHEM, M. van and E. FATIO, Voyage en Syrie, 2 vols., Cairo, 1913-4.
- BERLIN, STAATLICHE MUSEEN ZU, Führer durch das islamische Museum, 1970.
- BITTEL, K., "Kleinasiatische Studien", Istanbuler Mitteilungen, 5, 1942.
- BIVAR, A.D.S., "Seljūqid Ziyarats of Sar-i Pul", Bulletin of the School
 of Oriental and African Studies, 29, 1966, 57-63.
- BOASE, T.S.R., Castles and Churches of the crusading Kingdom, London, 1967.
- Kingdoms and strongholds of the crusaders, London, 1971.
- BON, A. and F. CHAPOUTHIER, En Grèce, Paris, 1948.
- BOSWORTH, C.E., The Islamic dynasties, Edinburgh 1967.
- BOUGOIN, J., Les éléments de l'art arabe, Paris, 1879.
- Précis de l'art arabe, Paris, 1892.
- BREND, B., Composition and decoration of some portals in Anatolia in the
 pre-Ottoman period, London, 1973, unpublished M.Phil.
- BRETANITSKY, L.S., Zodchestvo Azerbaidzhana 12-5 v., Moscow, 1966.
- BROSSET, M., Les Ruines d'Ani, St. Petersburg, 1860-1.
- Collection d'historiens arméniens, trans. by M.B.,
 2 vols., St. Petersburg, 1876.
- BUCHTHAL, H., Miniature Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem,
 Oxford, 1957.

BUCHTHAL, H., "Early Islamic Miniatures from Baghdad", Journal of the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, 5, 1942, 18-39.

BUTLER, H.C., Publications of an American Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900, Part 2, Architecture and other Arts, New York and London, 1903.

Publications of the Princeton Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904-5 and 1909,

Part 2, Architecture. Section A, Southern Syria; Section B, Northern Syria, Leiden, 1910.

Early Churches of Syria, 4th to 7th centuries, edited and completed by E. Baldwin Smith, Princeton, 1929.

CAHEN, C., La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche, Paris, 1940.

Pre-Ottoman Turkey, London, 1968.

"Le Diyar Bakr aux temps des premiers Urtukides", Journal Asiatique, 227, 1935, 219-76.

"Quelques texts négligés concernant les turcomans du Rûm au moment de l'invasion mongole", Byzantion, 14, 1939, 131-9.

"La première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure", Byzantion, 18, 1948, 5-67.

"Les tribus turques d'Asie occidentale pendant la période Seljukide", Wiener Zeitschrift für die Künste des Morgenlandes, 51, 1948-52, 178-87.

"Le commerce Anatolien au début du 13ème siècle", Mélanges d'histoire du moyen âge dédiés à la mémoire de Louis Halphen, Paris, 1951, 91-101.

"Seljukides du Rûm, Byzantins et francs d'après le Seljuk nāmeḥ anonyme", Annuaire de l'Institut

de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et
Slaves, 11, 1951, 97-106.

CAIRO. American University Center for Arabic Studies, Studies in
Islamic Art and Architecture in honor of
Professor K.A.C. Creswell, 1965.

Cambridge History of Iran, The, ed. J.A. BOYLE, 5, The Seljuq
and Mongol periods, Cambridge, 1968.

Cambridge Medieval History, The, ed. J.M. HUSSEY, IV, The Byzantine
Empire, part 1: Byzantium and its neighbours,
Cambridge, 1966.

COHN-WIENER, E., Turan, Berlin, 1930.

CONANT, K.J., Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture, Harmondsworth,
1959.

CRESWELL, Sir K.A.C., A Bibliography of the Archaeology, Arts
and Crafts of Islam, Cairo, 1961.

--- "The Great Mosque of Hama", Festschrift für
E. Kühnel, Berlin, 1959, 48-53.

--- Early Muslim architecture, 2 vols.,
Oxford, 1940.

--- Early Muslim Architecture, 2nd ed., I, 2
vols., 1969.

CUINET, V., Turquie d'Asie, 4 vols., Paris, 1890-1.

CUMONT, F. and E., "Voyage d'expédition archéologique dans le Pont
et la petite Arménie", Studia Pontica, II,
Brussels, 1906.

DARKOT, B. "Diwriğ^V", İslâm Ansiklopedisi, III, Istanbul, 1945,
596-9.

DEMIRIZ, Y., "Atabey'deki Ertokuş Medresesinde Bizans Devrine Ait
Devşirme Malzeme", Sanat Tarihi Yilligi^V, 4,
1970-1.

- DER NERSESSIAN, S., Manuscripts arméniens illustrés des 12, 13, 14ème siècles de la bibliothèque des pères Mekhitharistes de Venise, 2 vols., Paris, 1936.
- Armenia and the Byzantine Empire: a brief study of Armenian Art and Civilisation, Harvard University, 1945.
- "Image worship in Armenia and its opponents", Armenian Quarterly, 1, 1946, 67-81.
- Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the Chester Beatty Library, 2 vols., Dublin, 1958.
- "The Armenian chronicle of the Constable Smpad or of the 'Royal Historian'", Dumbarton Oaks Papers, 13, 1959, 141-68.
- Armenian Manuscripts in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, 1963.
- "Armenia in the 10th and 11th centuries", Thirteenth International Congress of Byzantine Studies, 1967, 427-31.
- Aght'amar, Church of the Holy Cross, Cambridge, Mass., 1965.
- The Armenians, London, 1969.
- DIEZ, E., Churasanische Baudenkmäler, Berlin, 1918.
- DIMAND, M.S., "Studies in Islamic Ornament: II The origin of the second style of Samarra décoration", Archaeologica Orientalia in memoriam Ernst Herzfeld, New York, 1952, 62-8.
- DOURNOVO, L.A., Miniatures arméniennes, Erevan, 1967.

DUSSAUD, R., Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale,

Paris, 1927.

DUSSAUD, R., DESCHAMPS, P., SEYRIG, H., La Syrie antique et médiévale, Paris, 1931.

ECOCHARD, M., "Notes d'Archéologie Musulmane", Bulletin d'études

Orientales, 7=8, 1937-8, 108.

ELISSÉEFF, N., "Les Monuments de Nūr ad-Dīn, inventaire, notes

archéologiques et bibliographiques", Bulletin d'études

Orientales, 13, 1951, 5-43.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ISLAM, THE, 1st and 2nd ed.

ENLART, C., Les Monuments des Croisés dans le royaume de Jérusalem,

2 vols., Paris, 1927.

ERDMANN, K., "Zur türkischen Baukunst seldschukischer und osmanischer

Zeit", Istanbuler Mitteilungen, 8, 1958, 1-39.

"Karamanische Medresen und Imarets vom Medresentyp

in Anatolien", Studies in Islamic Art and Archi-

tecture in honor of Professor K.A.C. Creswell,

American University Center for Arabic Studies,

1965, 49-62.

Das Anatolische Karavansaray des 13. Jahrhunderts,

2 vols., Berlin, 1961.

ETTINGHAUSEN, R., see E. AKURGAL, Treasures of Turkey, Geneva, 1966,

The Islamic Period, 131-52.

"The 'Beveled style' in the 1st Samarra period",

Archaeologica Orientalis in memoriam Ernst Herz-

feld, New York, 1952, 72-83.

FAÏÈS, B., Le livre de la thériaque, Cairo, 1953.

Essai sur l'esprit de la décoration islamique,

Cairo, 1952.

FIEY, J.M., Mossoul chrétienne, Beirut, 1959.

- FIEY, J.M., Assyrie chrétienne, 2 vols., Beirut, 1965.
- FLETCHER, Sir B.F., A history of architecture on the comparative method, 17th ed., London, 1961.
- FRANCASTEL, P., "A propos des églises-porches: du carolingien au roman", Mélanges d'histoire du moyen-âge dédiés à la mémoire de L. Halphen, Paris, 1951.
- FRANKL, P., "The secret of the Mediaeval Masons", Art Bulletin, March 1945, 46-60.
- FREEMAN-GRENVILLE, G.S.P., The Muslim and Christian calendars, London, 1963.
- FRUMKIN, G., Archaeology in Soviet central Asia, Leiden, 1970.
- GABRIEL, A., "Les antiquités turques d'Anatolie", Syria, 10, 1929, 257-70.
- Monuments turcs d'Anatolie, I, 1931, II, 1934.
- Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale, with a recueil d'inscriptions arabes by J. SAUVAGET, Paris, 1940.
- GAYOT, H., Le décor floral dans l'art de l'Islam occidental, Rabat, 1955.
- GODARD, A., L'art de l'Iran, Paris, 1962.
- see ATHAR-E IRAN
- GOLOMBEK, L., Abbasid mosque at Balkh, Oriental Art, NS 15, No. 3, 1969, 173-89.
- GOODWIN, G., History of Ottoman architecture, London, 1971.
- GOODYEAR, W.H., The grammar of the lotus, London, 1891.
- GRABAR, A., Martyrium, 2 vols., Paris, 1946.
- GRÉGOIRE, H., "Les Arméniens entre Byzance et l'Islam", Byzantion, 10, 1935, 665-7.
- GRENARD, F., "Notes sur les monuments du moyen-âge de Malatia, Divrighi, Siwas, Darende, Amasia et Tokat", Journal Asiatique, 9ème série, 17, 1901, 449-58.

- GROUSSET R., Histoire de l'Arménie, Paris, 1946.
- GRUBE, E.J., The World of Islam, London, 1966.
- HAHNLOSER, H.R., Villard de Honnecourt, Vienna, 1935.
- HARVEY, J., "The origin of Gothic architecture: some further thoughts", The Antiquaries Journal, 48, 1967.
- The Master builders, London, 1971.
- The medieval architect, London, 1972.
- HEBRARD, E., "Les monuments seldjoukides de Konia", Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres, Compte-rendus, 1914, 155-61.
- HERZFELD, E., "Mashad 'Alī, ein bau Zengi's II 589/1188-9", Der Islam, 1914, 358-69.
- "Damascus: studies in architecture", Ars Islamica, 9, 1942, 1-53; 10, 1943, 13-70, 11-2; 1946, 1-71, 13-4; 1948, 118-38.
- HEYD, W. von, Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen-âge, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1885-6.
- HILL, R.M.T., The deeds of the Franks and other pilgrims to Jerusalem, ed. R. Hill, 1964.
- HILL, D. and GRABAR, O., Islamic architecture and its decoration, London, 1964.
- HILLENBRAND, R., "Saljūq monuments in Iran, I", Oriental Art, NS 18, 2, 1972, 64-77.
- HOLIDAY, E., Altairdesign, London, 1970.
- HOMMAIRE de HELL, O., Voyage en Turquie et en Perse, Paris, 1854-60.
- HOUTSMA, M.T., "La dynastie des Benū Menguçek", Revue Orientale, pour les études ouralo-altaïques, 1904, 277.
- HUART, C., Diwrigi, The Encyclopedia of Islam, 1908, 979-80.
- "Inscription arabe de la mosquée seljoukide de Divrigui", Journal Asiatique, 9^{ème} série, 17, 1901, 343-6.

- IRAQ MUSEUM, Guide Book, 1966.
- JERPHANION, G. de, Mélanges d'archéologie anatolienne, Beirut, 1928.
- JONES, D. and G. MICHELL, "Squînches and pendentives: problems and definitions", Art and archaeology research papers, I, 1972, 9-25.
- KAWERAU, P., Die jakobitische Kirche im Zeitalter der syrischen Renaissance, Berlin, 1960.
- KEMALI, A., Erzincan, Istanbul, 1932.
- KEPES, G., ed., Structure in art and science, London, 1965.
- KHATCHATRIAN, A., "L'architecture arménienne d'après N. Tokarski", Revue des études arméniennes, NS 2, 1965, 223-38, NS 3, 1966, 119-42.
- "Les églises cruciformes du Tayq", Cahiers archéologiques, 17, 1967, 203-8.
- KNOBLOCH, E., Beyond the Oxus, London, 1972.
- KRAUTHEIMER, R., Early Christian and Byzantine architecture, Harmondsworth, 1965.
- KÜHNEL, E., Islamic art and architecture, London, 1966.
- KUBAN, D., "The mosque and hospital at Divriği and the origin of Anatolian-Turkish architecture", Anatolica, 2, 1968, 122-9.
- LANE, A., Early Islamic pottery, London, 1947.
- LANDAU, R., "The arabesque: the abstract art of Islam", American Academy of Asian studies, San Francisco, 1955.
- LANG, D.M. The Georgians, London, 1966.
- LASSUS, J.B.A., Album de Villard de Honnecourt, Paris, 1858.
- LASSUS, J., Sanctuaires chrétiens de Syrie, Paris, 1947.
- LAURENT J., L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam, Paris, 1919.
- LEHMANN, C.F., Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens, Berlin, 1907.

LEROY, J , Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures, 2 vols., Paris, 1964.

--- "La renaissance de l'église syriaque aux 12^{ème}
et 13^{ème} siècles", Cahiers de civilisation
médiévale, 14, 131-48, 239-55.

LE STRANGE, G., The Land of the Eastern Caliphate, London, 1905.

LLOYD, S. and D.T.RICE, Alanya, London, 1958.

LYNCH, H.F.B., Armenia: travels and studies, 2 vols., London, 1901.

MASSIGNON, R., "Remarques sur l'unité d'inspiration de l'art musulman",
Congrès de l'histoire de l'art, I, 1923, 252-5.

MARÇAIS, G., "Nouvelles remarques sur l'esthétique musulmane",
Annales de l'institut d'études orientales, 6,
1942-7, 31-52.

MARICQ, A. and G. WIET, "Le minaret de Djam", Mémoires de la
délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan,
16, 1959.

MARR, N.Y., Ani knīzhnaya istoriya ghoroda i raskepkī na meste
ghozodīshoha, Leningrad, 1934.

MASSÉ, H., "Le sultan seldjoukide Keykabad I et l'Arménie", Revue
des études arméniennes, 9, 1929, 113-29.

MATHEW, G., Byzantine Aesthetics, London, 1963.

MATTERN, J., "A travers les villes mortes de la haute Syrie",
Mélanges de l'université Saint Joseph, 17,
Beirut, 1933.

MAYER, L.A., Islamic architects and their works, Geneva, 1956.

--- Islamic woodcarvers and their works, Geneva, 1958.

MEDLEY, M., "Chinese ceramics and Islamic design", The westward
spread of Chinese influence, Percival David collo-
quies on art and archaeology in Asia, No. 3,
1972, 1 ff.

- MECERIAN, J., Expédition archéologique dans l'Antiochène occidentale, Beirut, 1965.
- MENDEL, G., "Les monuments seldjoukides en Asie mineure", Revue de l'art ancien et moderne, 23, 1908, 9-24.
- MEYER-RIEFSTAHL, R., "Persian influence in Seljuk art", Parnassus, 5, 1931, 24.
- MINORSKY, V.F., Studies in Caucasian history, London, 1953.
- MNATSAKANYAN, S. KH., Architektura Armanskikh pritvorov, Erevan, 1952.
 --- Armyanskoe ornamental' no iskusstvo, Erevan, 1955.
- MONNERET de VILLARD, U., "Per la storia del portale romanico", Medieval studies in memory of A. Kingsley Porter, Cambridge, US, 1939, 2 vols., 113-24.
- MUHAMMAD ibn AHMAD, IBN JUBAIR, Les voyages d'Ibn Jubair, 6, 3rd part, tr. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris 1953.
- MÜLLER-WIENER, W., Crusaders' castles, London, 1966.
- NIDERMAYER, O. von, Afghanistan, Leipzig, 1924.
- ÖGEL, S., Anadolu Selçuklulari'nin taş tezyinati, Ankara, 1966.
 --- Der Kuppelraum in der Türkischen architektur, Istanbul, 1972.
- ÖGUZ, T. and M. AKOK, "Üç Selçukly Abidesi Dolay Han, kesik köprü kervansarayı ve han camii", Belleten, 22, 1958, 251-7.
- ÖNEY, G., Ankara'da Türk devri yapıları, Ankara, 1971.
 --- "Kayseri Hacı kiliç Cami ve medresesi", Belleten, 30, 1966, 377-87.
 --- "Nigde Hüdavent hatun türbesi figürlü kabartmaları", Belleten, 31, 143-54.

ÖNEY, G., "Anadolu selçuklu sanatında hayat Ağaci motifi",

Belleten, 32, 1968, 25-36.

"Anadolu'da Selçuk geleneginde kuşlu, çift başlıkartallı, şahinli ve arslanlı mezar taşları",
Vakıflar Dergisi, 8, 1969, 284-91.

"Sun and moon rosettes in the shape of human heads in Anatolian Seljuk architecture", Anatolica, 3, 1970, 195-203.

OPPENHEIMER, F., Frankish themes and problems, London, 1952.

OSTROGORSKY, G., Histoire de l'état byzantin, Paris, 1969.

OTTO-DORN, K., "Seldschukische Holzs äulenmoscheen in Kleinasien",
Festschrift für E. Kühnel, 1959, 59-88.

PEARSON, J.D., Index Islamicus, 3 vols., 1958, 1962, 1967.

POGNON, H., Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul, Paris, 1907.

POPE, A.U., ed., A survey of Persian art, 6 vols., Oxford, 1938.

PREUSSER, C., Nordmesopotamische Baudenkmäler altchristlicher und islamscher Zeit, Leipzig, 1911.

PUGACHENKOVA, G.A. and L.G.REMPPEL, Istoriya iskusstva Uzbekistana s drevneishikh vremen do seredinui devyatnadtsatogo veka, Moscow, 1965.

RAMSAY, W.M. and G.L.Bell, The thousand and one churches, London, 1909.

REITTLINGER G., "Medieval antiquities west of Mosul", Iraq, 5, 1938, 143-56.

RICE D.S., "The Aghāni miniature and religious paintings in Islam",
Burlington Magazine, 95, 1953, 128-36.

The unique Ibn al-Bawwāb manuscript in the Chester Beatty library, Dublin, 1955.

RIEFSTAHL, R.M., Turkish architecture in south western Anatolia,
Cambridge, 1931.

RITER C.F., "A wooden dome in Turkey", Oriental Art, NS, 15, 2,
1969, 113-5.

ROGERS J.M., "The Çifte minare medrese at Erzerum and the Gök
medrese at Sivas", Anatolian Studies, 15,
1965, 63-85.

"Recent work on Seljuk Anatolia", Kunst des Orients,
6, ii, 1969, 134-69.

"Seljuk influence on the monuments of Cairo",
Kunst des Orients, 7, i, 1970-1, 40-68.

ROUX, J.P., La mort chez les peuples altaïques anciens et médiévaux,
Paris, 1963.

SAKAOGLU, N., Mengücek ögüllari, 1971.

SAKISIAN, A., "Thèmes et motifs d'enluminure et de décoration
arménienne", Ars Islamica, 6, 1939, 66-87.

SARRE, F., Seldschukische Kleinkunst, Leipzig, 1909.

Reise in Kleinasien, Berlin, 1896.

Denkmäler persischer Baukunst, Berlin, 1910.

Konia, seldschukische Baudenkmäler, Berlin,
1921.

SARRE, F. and E. HERZFELD, Archäologische Reise in Euphrat-und-
Tigris Gebiet, 4 vols., Berlin, 1911-20.

SAUVAGET, J., "Deux sanctuaires chiites d'Alep", Syria, 9, 1928,
320-7.

"Le cénotaphe de Saladin", Revue des arts
asiatiques, 6, 1929-30, 168-75.

"Inventaire des monuments musulmans de la ville
d'Alep", Revue des études islamiques, 23, 1931,
59-114.

- SAUVAGET, J., "Observations sur quelques mosquées seldjoukides",
Annales de l'institute des études orientales de
la faculté des lettres d'Alger, 4, 1938, 81-120.
- SAUVAGET, J., M. ECOCHARD and J. SOURDEL-THOMINE, Les monuments
ayyoubides de Damas, 4 fasc., Paris, 1938-50.
- SAUVAGET, J., La poste aux chevaux dans l'empire des Mamelouks,
 Paris, 1941.
- Alep, 2 vols., Paris, 1941.
- Introduction to the history of the Muslim east,
 University of California, 1965.
- SCERRATO, U., "The first two excavation campaigns at Ghazni 1957-8",
East and West, 10, 1959, 23-55.
- SCHEFFER, C., "Quelques chapitres de l'abrégé du Seljouq nameh composé
 par l'émir Nassir Eddin Yahia", 8ème congrès
international des Orientalistes, 2 vols., 1889,
 3-62.
- SCHNEIDER, G., "Rekonstruktionen Selschukischer Moscheen",
Sanat Tahiri Yilligi^V, 1966-8, 134-41.
- SEGAL, J.B., Edessa, London, 1970.
- SEHERR-THOSS, H.C., Design and colour in Islamic architecture, Washington, 1968.
- SHELBY, L.R., "Geometrical knowledge of Mediaeval Master Masons", Speculum,
 47, iii, 1972, 395-421.
- SIROUX, M., "La mosquée de Marand", Arts asiatiques, 3, ii, 1956,
 89-97.
- SMITH, B.E., Architectural symbolism, Princeton, 1956.
- The dome, Princeton, 1950.
- SOURDEL-THOMINE, J., "Deux minarets d'époque seljoukide en Afghani-
 stan", Syria, 36, 1953, 108-36.
- SOURDEL, D.J., La civilisation de l'Islam classique, Paris, 1968.
- SPULER, B., "The age of the caliphs", The Muslim world, I, Leiden, 1969.

- SPULER, B., "The Mongol period", The Muslim world, II, Leiden, 1969.
- SÖZEN, M., "Selcuklular ve Beylikler devri", Anadolu Medreseleri II,
Istanbul, 1972.
- SPANNER-SGUYER, H., Rusafa, Berlin, 1926.
- STRONACH, D., T.CUYLER YOUNG Jnr., S.M.STERN, "Three octagonal
tomb towers from Iran", Iran, 4, 1966, 1-28.
- STRZYGOWSKI, J., Kleinasien, Leipzig, 1903.
- Atlas zum katalog der Armenischen Handschriften,
1907.
- Amida, Heidelberg-Paris, 1910.
- Die Baukunst der Armenier und Europa, 2 vols.,
Vienna, 1918.
- L'ancien art chrétien de Syrie, Paris, 1936.
- SYRIA, "Les monuments de l'Islam en Anatolie", Anon., Syria, 9,
1928, 169-70.
- TCHALENKO, G., Villages antiques de la Syrie du nord, 3 vols., Paris,
1953-8.
- TEXIER C., Description de l'Arménie, de la Perse et de la
Mésopotamie, 2 vols., 1842-52, Paris.
- THIERRY, N. and M., "Notes sur des monuments arméniens en Turquie",
Revue des études arméniennes, NS, 2, 1965, 165-84.
- "A propos de quelques monuments chrétiens du
vilayet de Kars", Revue des études arméniennes,
NS 3, 1966, 73-90.
- THIERRY, J.M., "Monastères arméniens du Vaspurakan", Revue des
études arméniennes:
- i) NS 4, 1967, 167-86.
 - ii) NS 5, 1968, 65-90.
 - iii) NS 6, 1969, 141-80.

TOKARSKY, N.M., Gegard, Armeniya, Moscow, 1948.

TORKOMIAN, V., "Un coup d'oeil sur l'histoire de la médecine
en Arméno-Cilicie", Revue des études
arméniennes, 6, 1926, 19-26.

TOUMANOFF, C., "On the relationship between the founder of the
empire of Trebizond and the Georgian queen Thamar",
Speculum, 15, 1940, 299-312.

"The background to Mantzikert", Thirteenth
Congress of Byzantine Studies, 1967, 411-26.

TOZER, H.F., Turkish Armenia and eastern Asia Minor, London, 1881.

TURAN, O., "Les souverains seljoukides et leurs sujets non musulmans",
Studia Islamica, I, 1953, 65-100.

"L'Islamisation dans la Turquie du moyen-âge",
Studia Islamica, 10, 1959, 137-52.

ÜLGEN, A.S., "Divriği Ulu Camii ve Darü'ssifasi", Vakıflar Dergisi,
5, 1962, 93-9.

ÜNAL, R.H., "Monuments seljoukides de Kemah", Revue des études islamiques,
1967, published 1968.

Les monuments anciens islamiques de la ville
d'Erzerum et de sa région, Paris, 1968.

UNSAL, B., Turkish architecture in Seljuk and Ottoman times,
London, 1959.

UTIDJIAN, E., Les monuments arméniens du 4ème au 17ème siècles,
Paris, 1967.

VASILIEV, A.A., "The foundation of the empire of Trebizond",
Speculum, 11, 1936, 3-37.

VITRUVIUS POLLIO, M., On architecture, tr. F. Granger, 2 vols.,
London, 1931-4.

- VOGUE, Marquis de, "Syrie centrale", Architecture civile et religieuse du Ier au 6ème siècles, 2 vols., Paris, 1865-77.
- WHITE, H.E., The monasteries of the Wadi N'Natrūn III, Architecture and Archaeology, New York, 1932.
- WIET, G., "Notes d'épigraphie arabe Syro-musulmane", Syria, 5, 1924, 216-53.
- WILBER, D.N., The architecture of Islamic Iran: the Ilkhanid period, Princeton, 1955.
- WINDFIELD, D., "Some early medieval figure sculpture from north-east Turkey", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 31, 1968, 33-72.
- WULZINGER, K. and C. WATZINGER, Damascus, 2 vols., Berlin and Leipzig, 1924.
- YETKIN, S.K., L'architecture turque en Turquie, Paris, 1962.
- ZAMBAUR, E. de, Manuel de généalogie et de chronologie pour l'histoire de l'Islam, Hanovre, 1927.

PLATES

1. Map of Divriği in relation to other cultural regions.
2. Sections of the Great Mosque and hospital after the drawings by A.S. Ülgen, VD, V, 1962: section aa.
3. sections cc and bb.
4. sections dd and ee.
5. General ground plan.
6. General column and ceiling plan.
7. Plan of upper floor to hospital.
8. North and south elevations.
9. West elevation.
10. East elevation.
11. Outline of north portal with photograph.
12. Fourth frame and analysed pattern on north portal.
13. Outline of west portal with photograph.
14. Windows in Divriği in Niğde: sections, motifs of outer and inner bands in east window of Divriği.
15. Outline of hospital portal with photograph.
16. Windows a and b in mosque.
17. Vaults 1, 4, 6, 7 in mosque.
18. Vaults 2, 17, 18, 23, keystones to vaults 9 and 25.
19. Columns A, E, F, J, in mosque.
20. Columns K, N, O, in mosque.
21. Columns U, T, R, S, in hospital.
22. Mihrāb: tympanum and section of the mihrāb wall.
23. Ornamental roundels r1, r2, in mosque.
24. Ornamental roundels rh1, rh2, in hospital.

25. Ornamental roundels rh3.4.5, rh6.7.8, rh9 in hospital.
26. Corbels in the mosque, 1-11.
27. Corbels in the hospital, 1-5.

PHOTOGRAPHS

1. Great Mosque and hospital from the citadel hill.
2. 1907 restoration carving on east wall.
3. Inscription 1 north portal.
4. " 2 " "
5. " west portal.
6. " hospital portal.
7. " east window.
8. " cartouche c, roundel b.
9. " roundel d.
10. " hospital signature.
11. " mosque, column L.
12. " mosque, column K.
13. " mosque, painted inscription of the Qur'ān
14. Nigde, 'Alā' ad-Dīn mosque, minaret.
15. Malatya, Ulu Cami separated minaret.
16. Divrigi, pattern on minaret.
17. Eski Malatya, Ottoman minaret.
18. Divrigi, minaret.
19. North portal.
20. " " first frame, bottom right.
21. " " first frame, top right.
22. " " left side.
23. " " right side.
24. Jām, roundels on minaret.
25. North portal, central lotus.
26. " " star band.

27. Ani, cathedral.
28. Osk Vank 958-66, base of column, detail.
29. North portal, Bismi Allāh.
30. " " upper central part.
31. West portal.
- 31a. Niğde 'Alā' ad-Dīn mosque, portal.
32. Divrigi citadel mosque, portal.
33. West portal, muqarnas.
34. Sivas, Kay-Kā'ūs I hospital, inside of entrance, detail.
35. West portal, niche inside left.
36. " " left falcons and roundel.
37. " " right falcon.
38. General view, east wall.
39. East window.
40. Citadel mosque, pattern.
41. Aleppo, Zāhiriya medrese, mihrāb.
42. Divrigi, Sitte Melik tomb tower.
43. Niğde, 'Alā' ad-Dīn mosque, north window.
44. Tercan, Mama Hatun mausoleum.
45. Sivas, Kay-Kā'ūs I hospital, entrance portal.
46. Maraghā, circular tomb tower, 593/1196-7.
47. Great Mosque, 'maqsura'.
48. Hospital portal.
49. " " right side.
50. " " detail top left.
51. " " left side.
52. " " right head.

53. Sivas, Kay-Kā'ūs I hospital, right hand head.
54. " " " left hand head.
55. Hospital portal, sketch of left heads.
56. " " lotus capitals on right.
57. " " top of double archway.
58. Tortosa (MCRJ, pl. 190 No. 492).
59. Hospital portal, left side with lotus capitals.
60. " " doorway panel with column, roundels.
61. Dunāysir, Great Mosque, main portal.
62. Qalat Seman.
63. Pavia, San Michele.
64. Acre, Saint Andrew. (MCRJ, pl. 53, No. 165).
65. Hovhannavank. (AAP, pl.50).
66. Ganzasser, (AAP, pl.79).
67. Ani, Saint Gregory Tigran Honentz.
68. Great Mosque, inside north portal.
69. " " column J, column K.
70. Ani, Manūchīhr mosque, broken vault.
71. Tortosa, corbels (MCRJ, pl. 183).
72. Armenian vaults (AAP, pl. 93).
73. " " (AAP, pl.94).
74. Great Mosque, vault 6 (pl.17).
75. " " dome, zone of transition and lotus band.
76. " " dome.
77. Nigde, 'Alā' ad-Dīn mosque, dome, squinch arch.
78. Silvan, Great Mosque, dome, squinch arch.
79. Tim, Arab Atā mausoleum, squinch. (PR, ph.102)

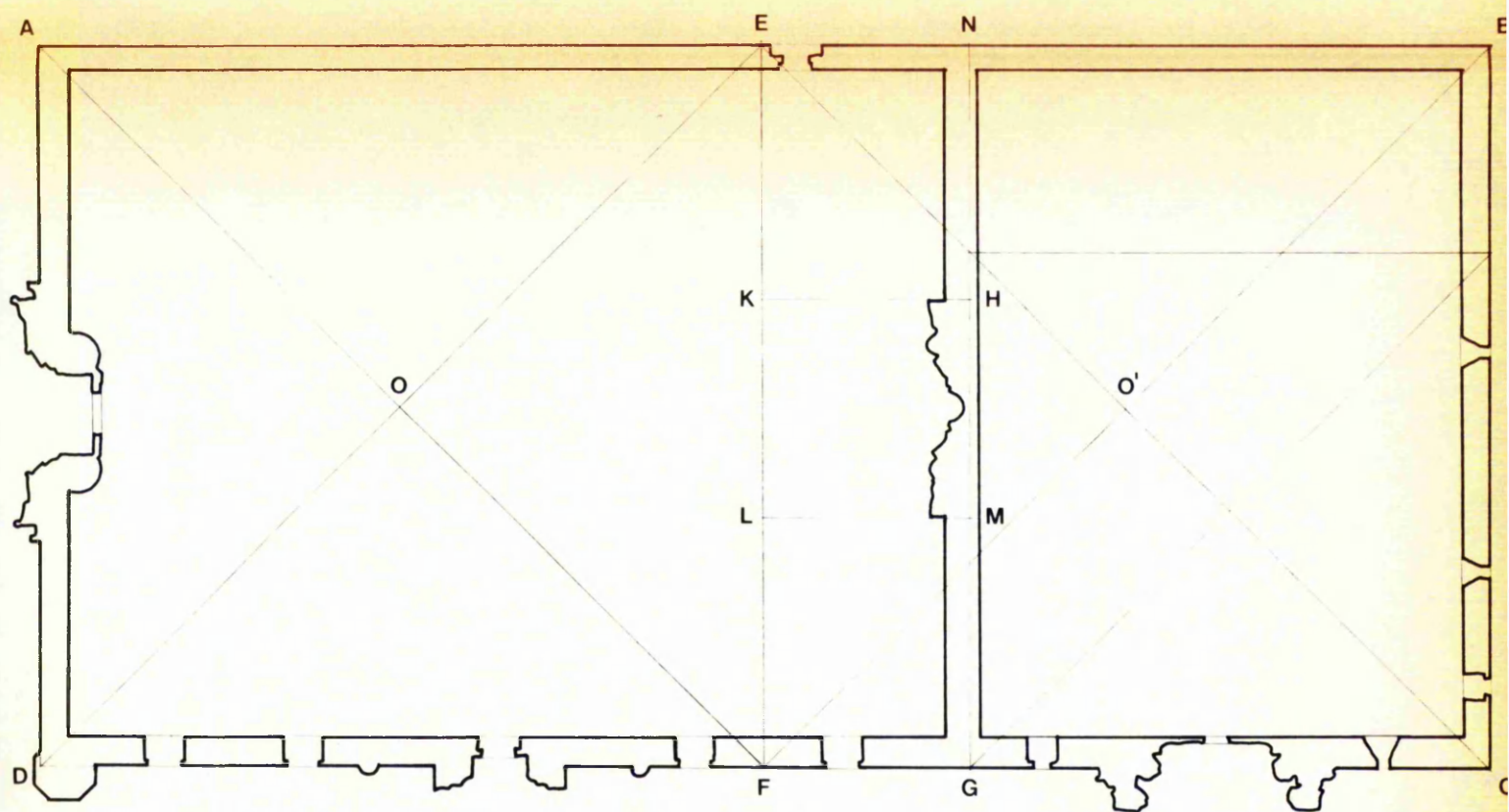
80. Gengelli Köy, drum.
81. Great Mosque, Mihrāb.
82. Dunaysir, Great Mosque, mihrāb.
83. Nigde, 'Alā' ad-Dīn mosque, mihrāb.
84. Great Mosque, mihrāb, left torch, detail carving.
85. Mosul, Great Mosque, mihrāb, (Reise, III, ph.5).
86. " " " free standing mihrāb, (Reise III, ph.5).
87. Hasankeyf, stucco mihrāb.
88. Tomb chamber, two openings into the Great Mosque.
89. " " tombs.
90. " " lustre tiles.
91. " " cupola and squinches.
92. " " dividing arch.
93. Hospital, pool.
94. " general interior view of west side.
95. " vault 38, columns T and U, windows.
96. " iwān 31.
97. " vault 31.
98. " cable moulding, acanthus frieze and roundel.
99. Dunaysir, Great Mosque, entrance portal, detail intrados.
100. Hospital, acanthus frieze and swastika band.
101. Sultan Han, frieze detail.
102. Hospital, iwān 38.
103. " hall, central vault, detail star carving.
104. " first floor, central vault.
105. Sāmarrā, stucco style b, (Creswell, 1940, II, pl. 76,c).
106. Ctēsiphon, stucco, (East Berlin, 1970, ph.4).

107. Sāmarrā stucco style b. (Iraq Museum, 1966, ph.48).
108. Balkh, Hājjī Piyāde, arch detail.
109. Ghazna, palace, marble carving, detail.
110. Rabāt-i Sharaf, restored intrados.
111. Jām, minaret.
112. Qazvīn, Haydarīya Mosque, . (Athār-e Irān, 2, 1936, ph.136).
113. Great Mosque, north portal, fourth frame, lower right carving.
113. " " west portal, roundel to the left.
115. Ganzasser, (Arzumanean, 1970), pendentive detail carving.
116. Ibn al-Bawwāb, margin decoration (D.S.RICE, pl.9).
117. Armenian manuscript ornament (A.SH.MNATSAKANIAN, Mss 4509, fig.60).
118. Mar Behnām, prepared stone on doorway (C. PREUSSER, 1911, ph.7,i).
119. Divrigi^V: general view.
120. Waqf.
121. Text of waqf.

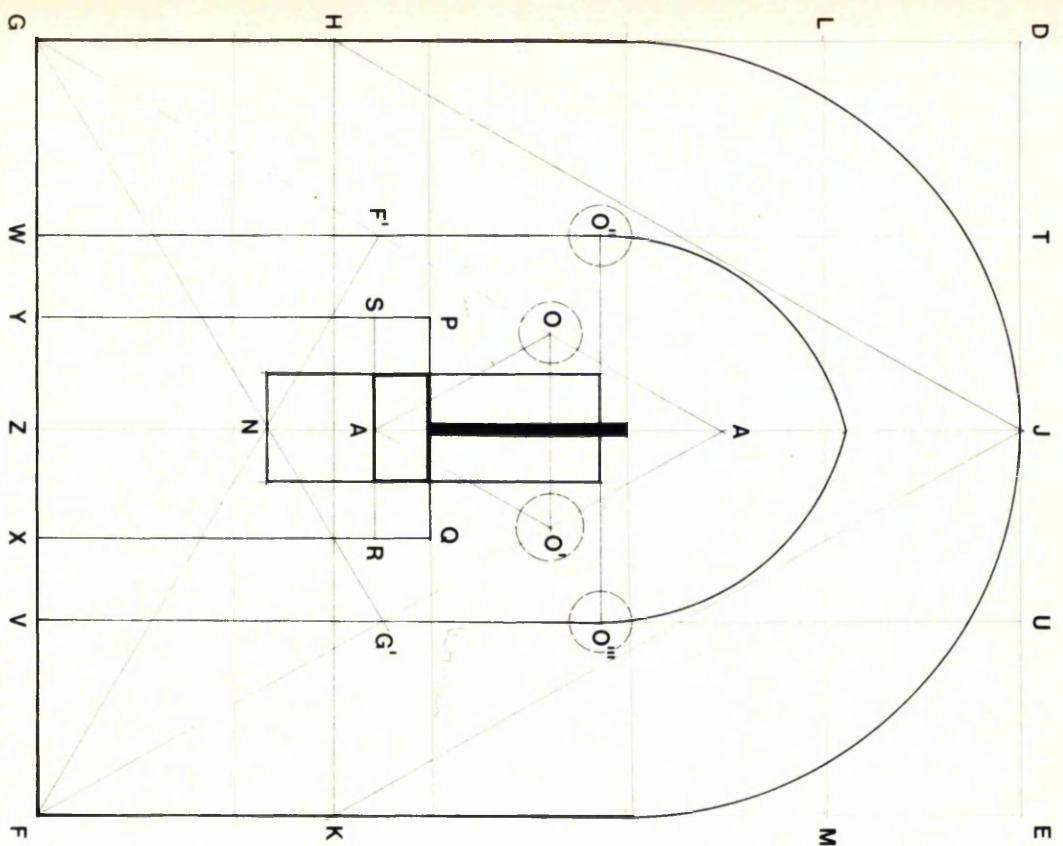
DRAWINGS

DRAWINGS

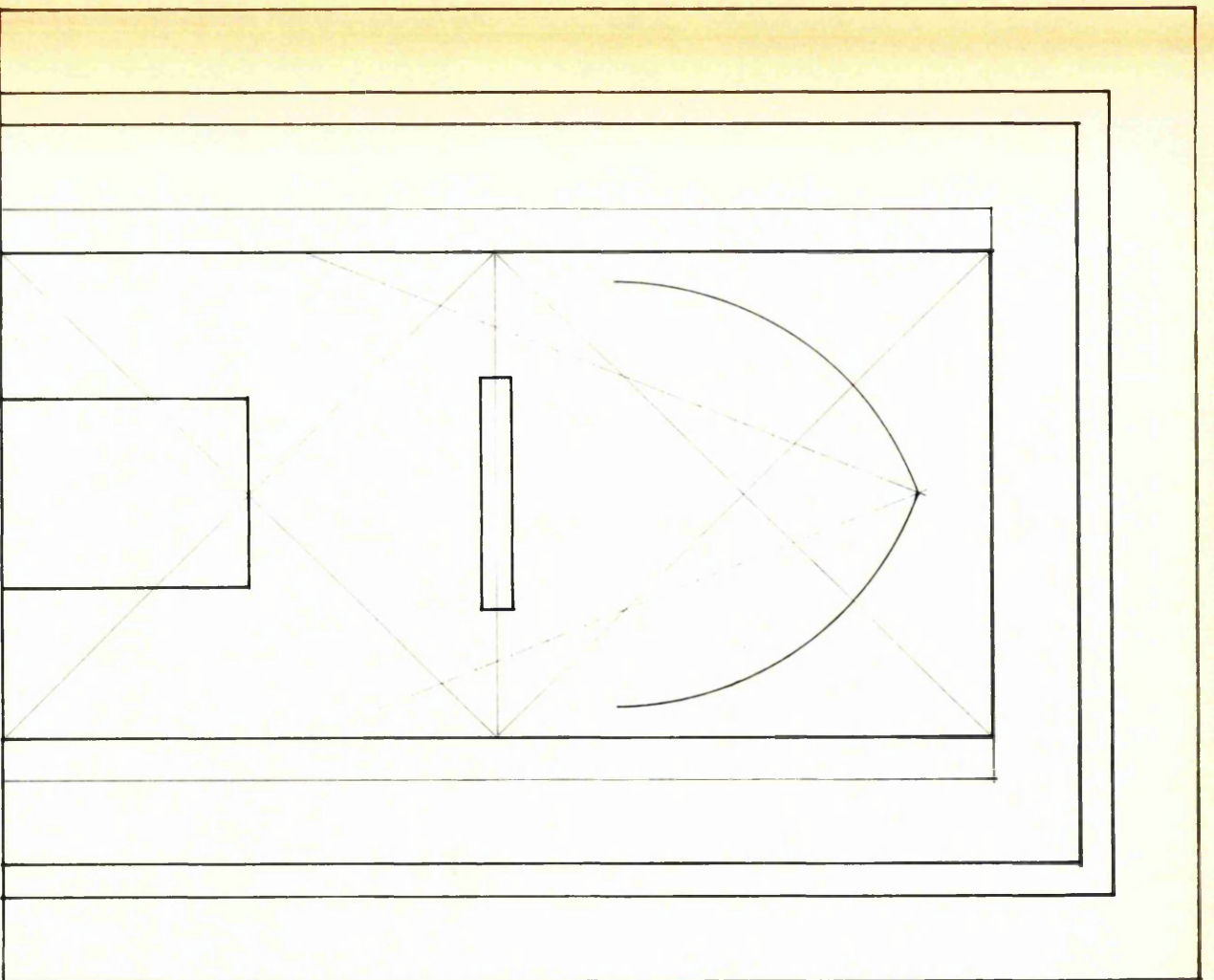
1. Ground plan.
2. Hospital portal.
3. East window.
4. West portal.
5. North portal.
6. Mihrāb.



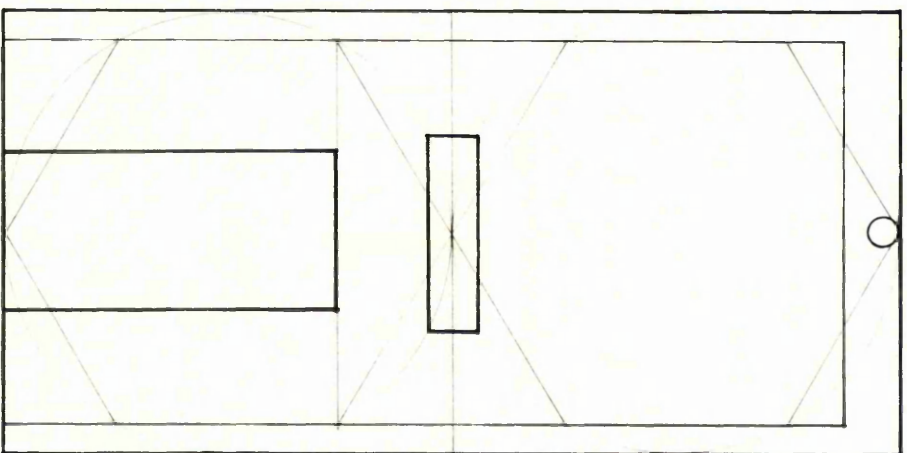
drawing 1 · plan



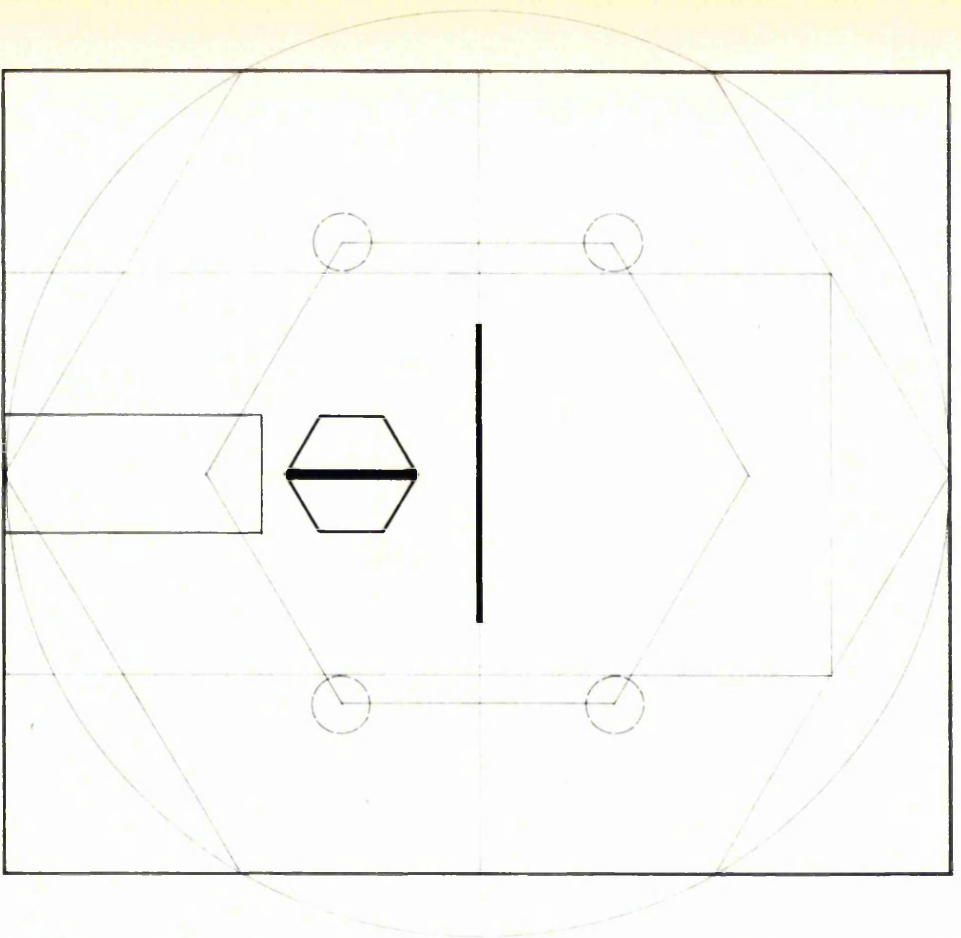
drawing 2 · hospital portal



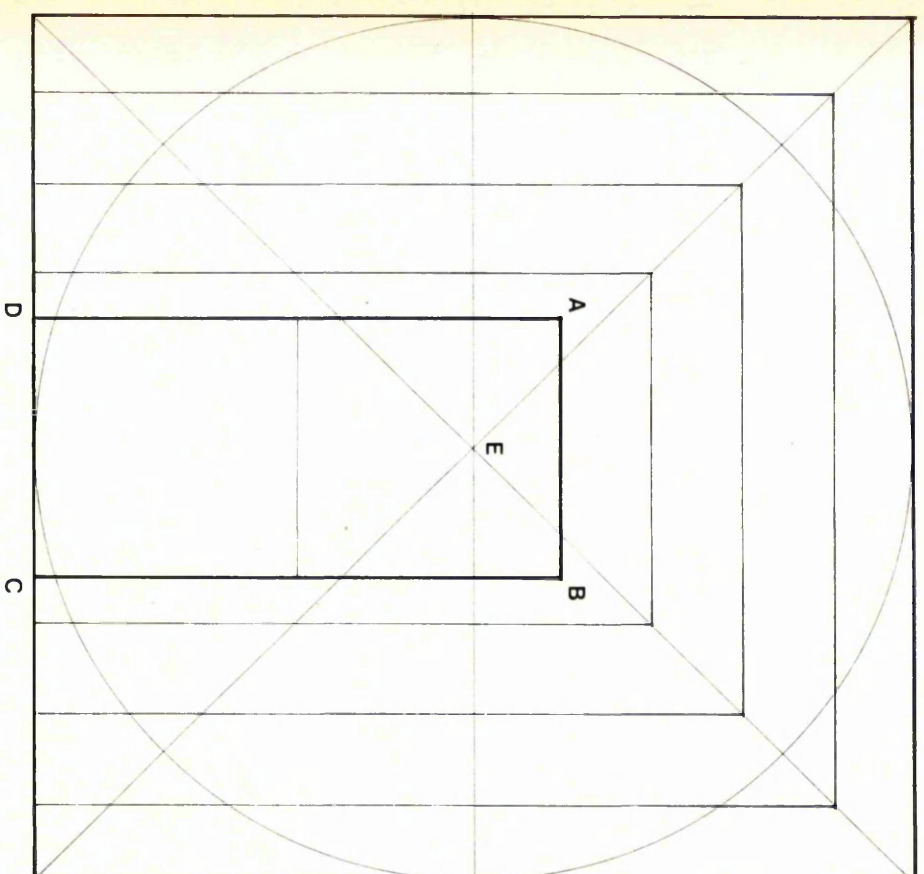
drawing 3 - east window



drawing 4 - west portal



drawing 5 · north portal

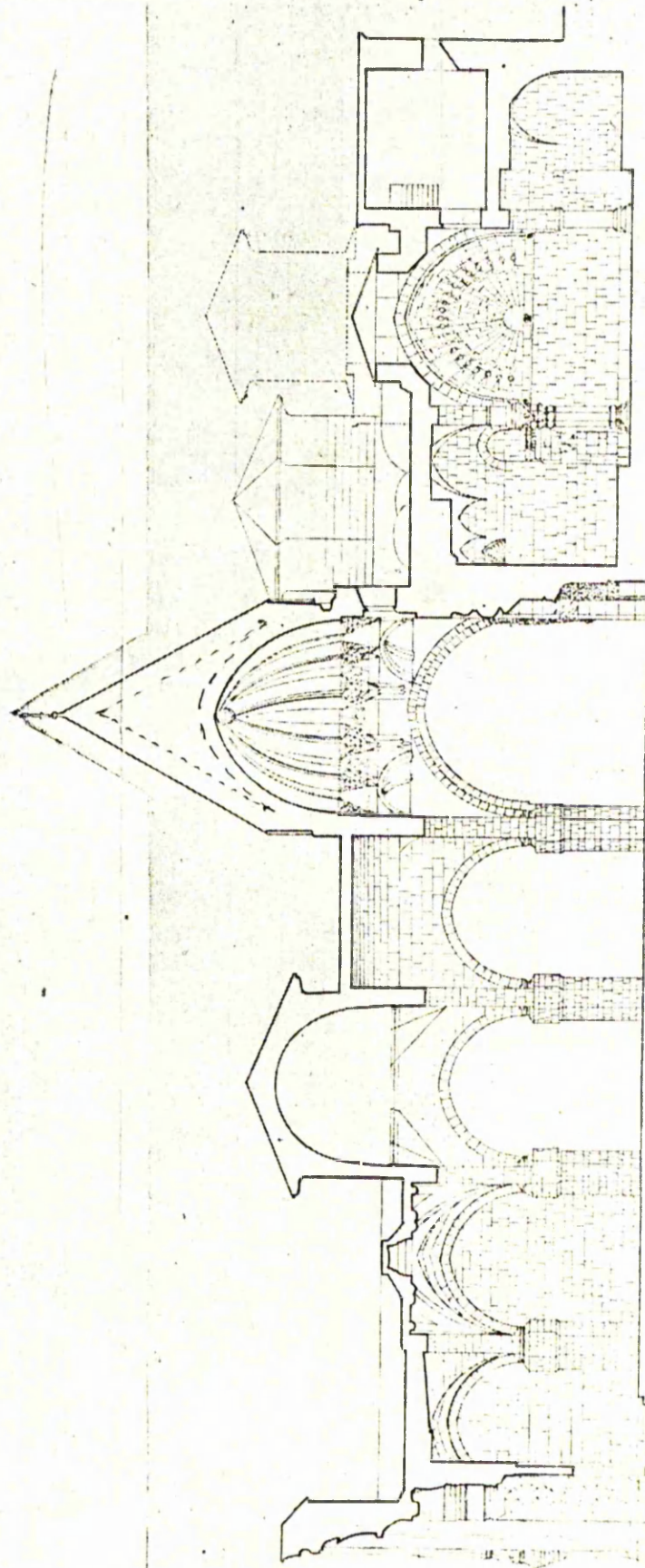


drawing 6 · miḥrāb

20 Jun 1973 Archer

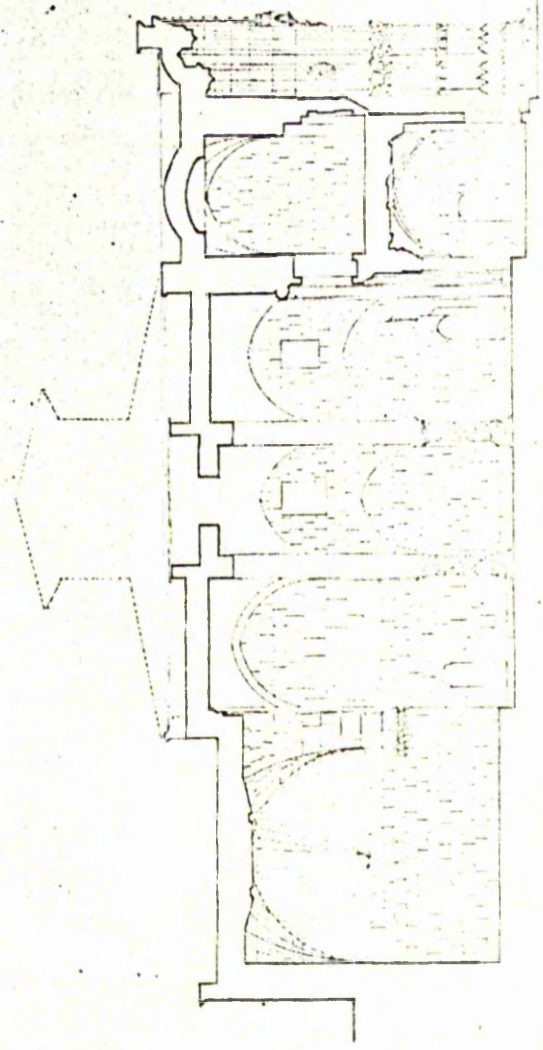
To be returned to the
ACADEMIC REGISTRAR
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
SENATE HOUSE, W.C.1.
in the Examiners Report

JOAS

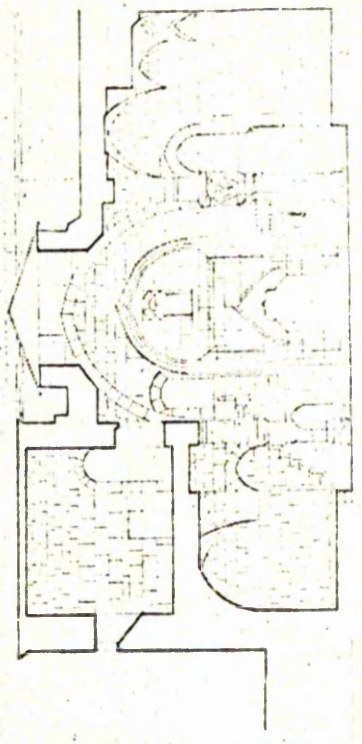


section aa

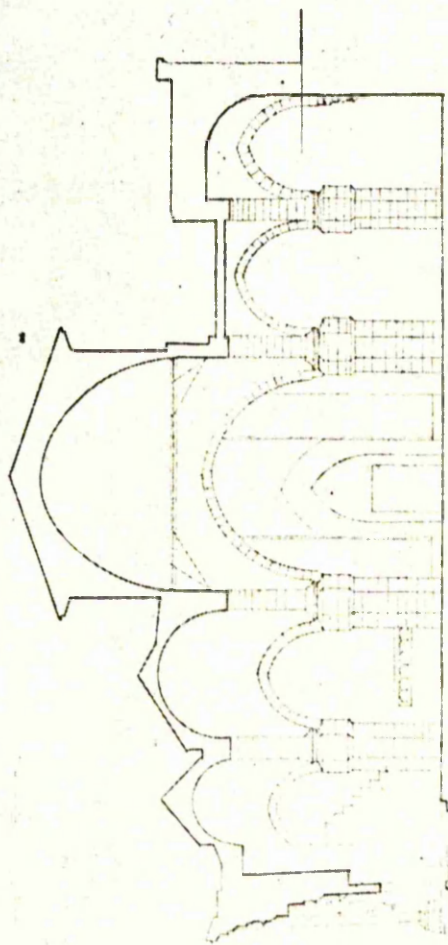
7.00



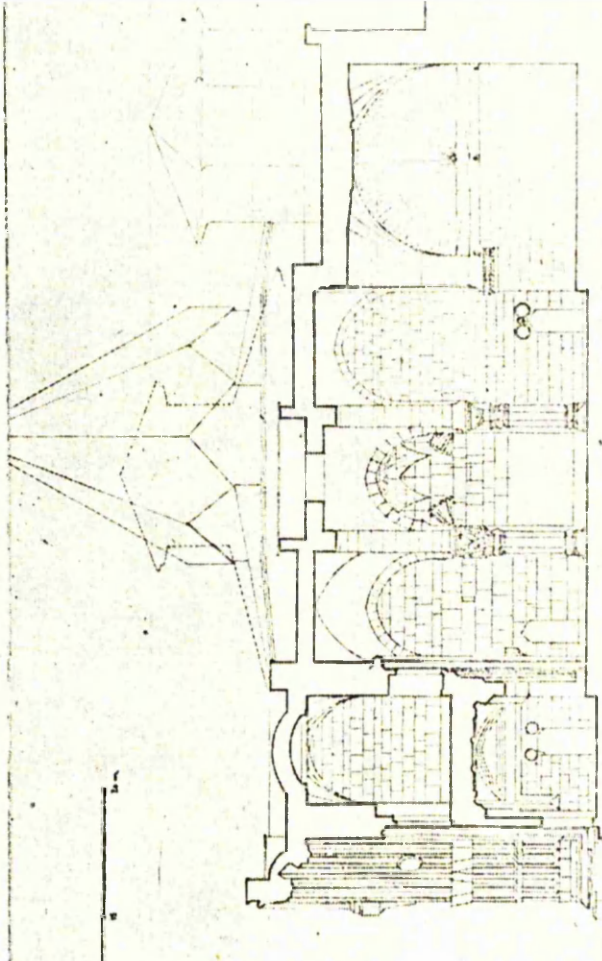
section cc



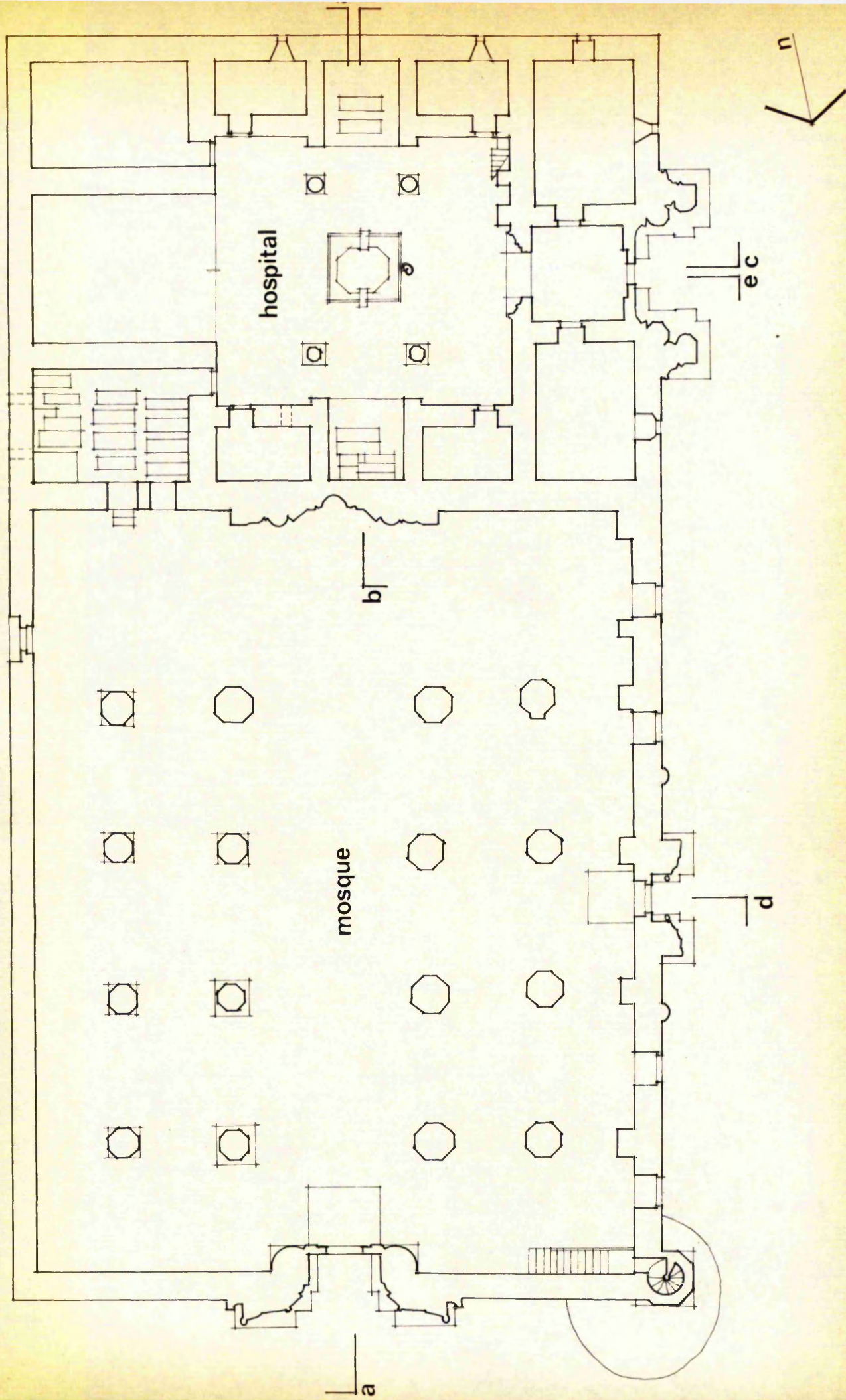
section bb



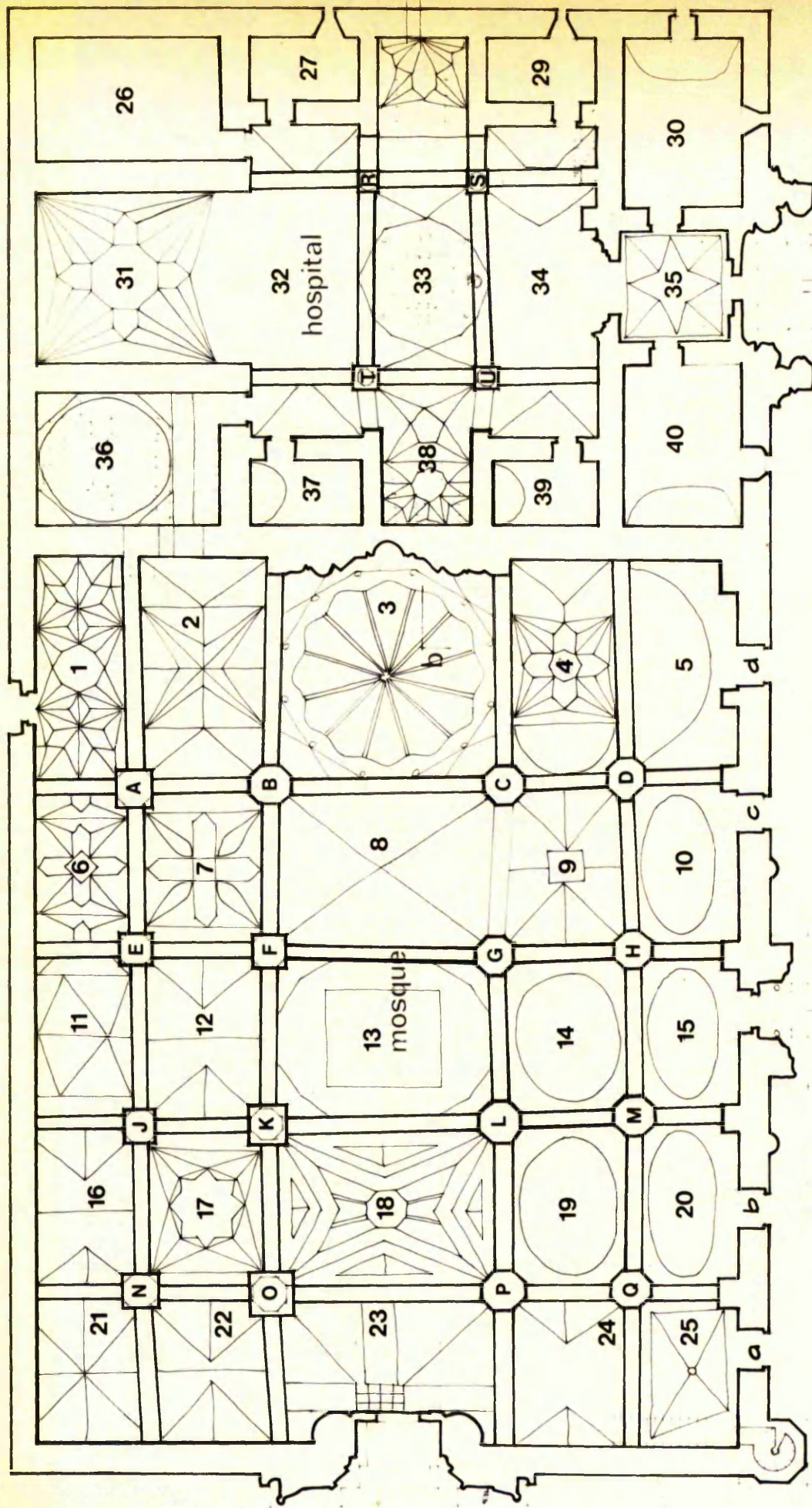
section dd



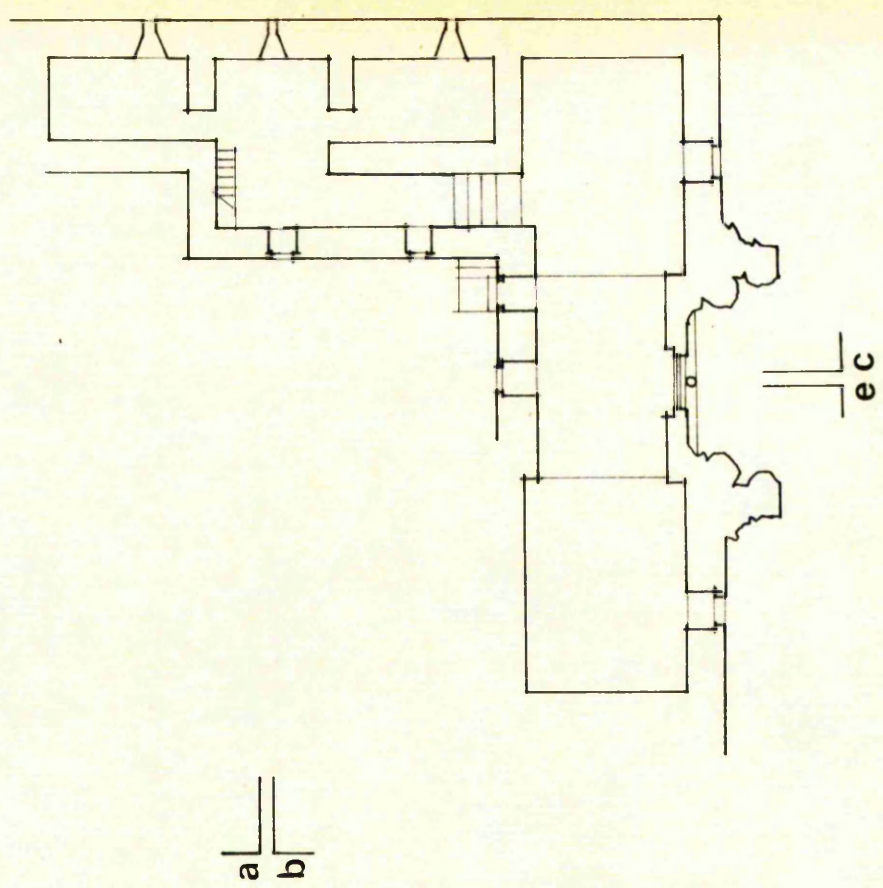
section ee

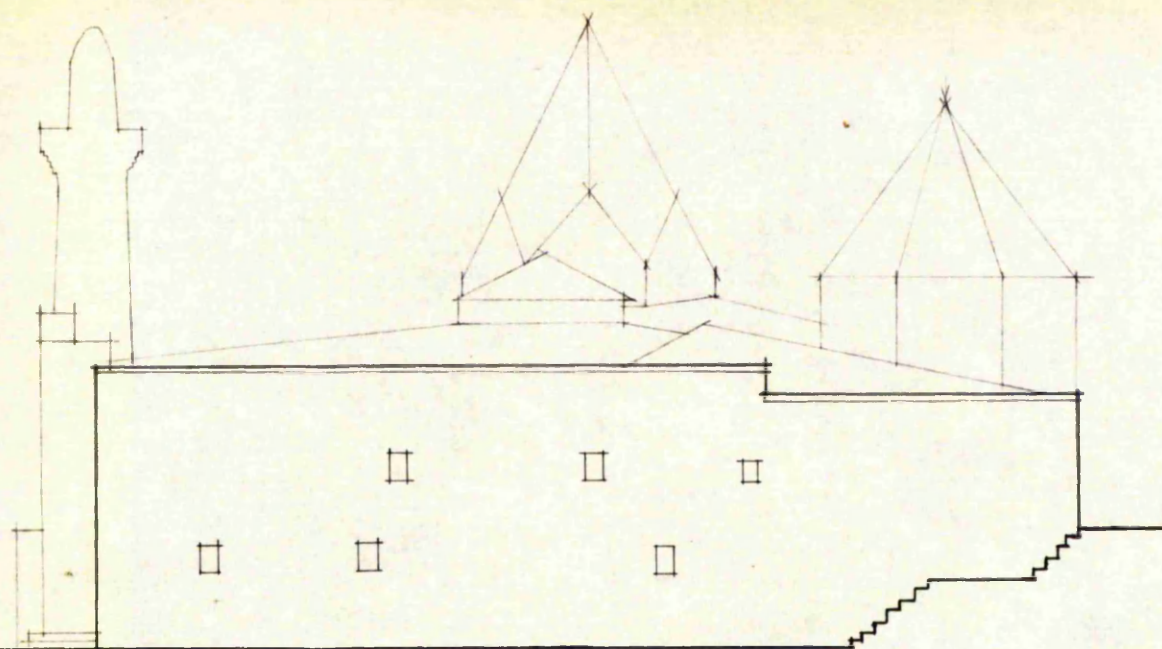


ground plan 1:250

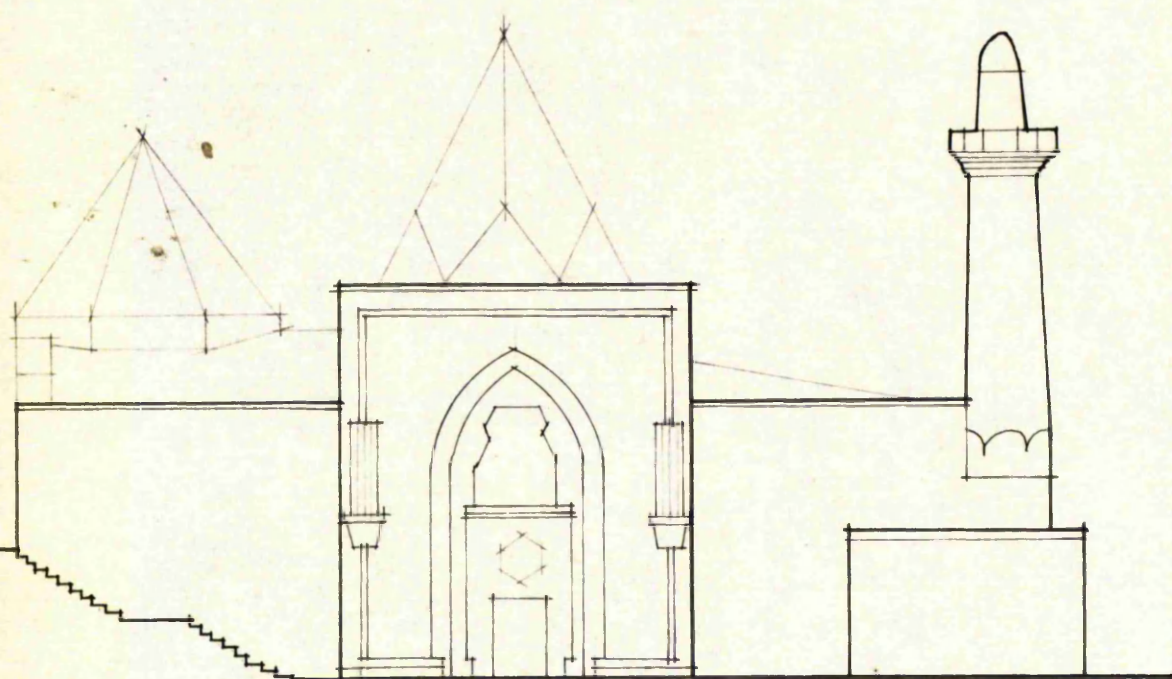


ceiling plan 1:250



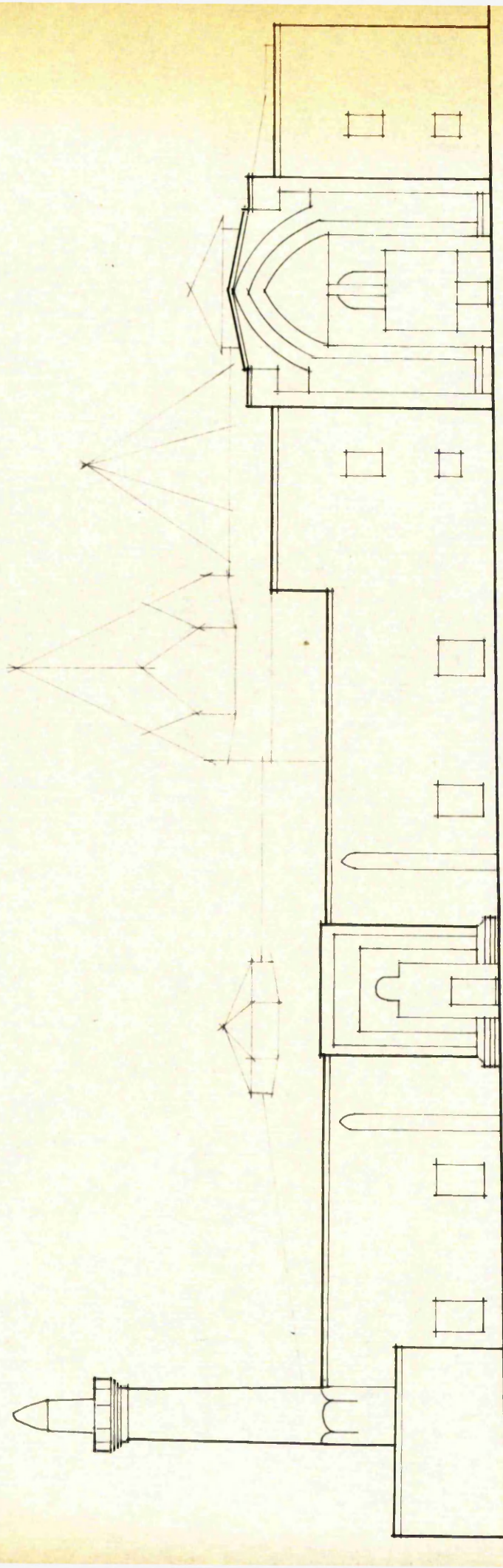


south

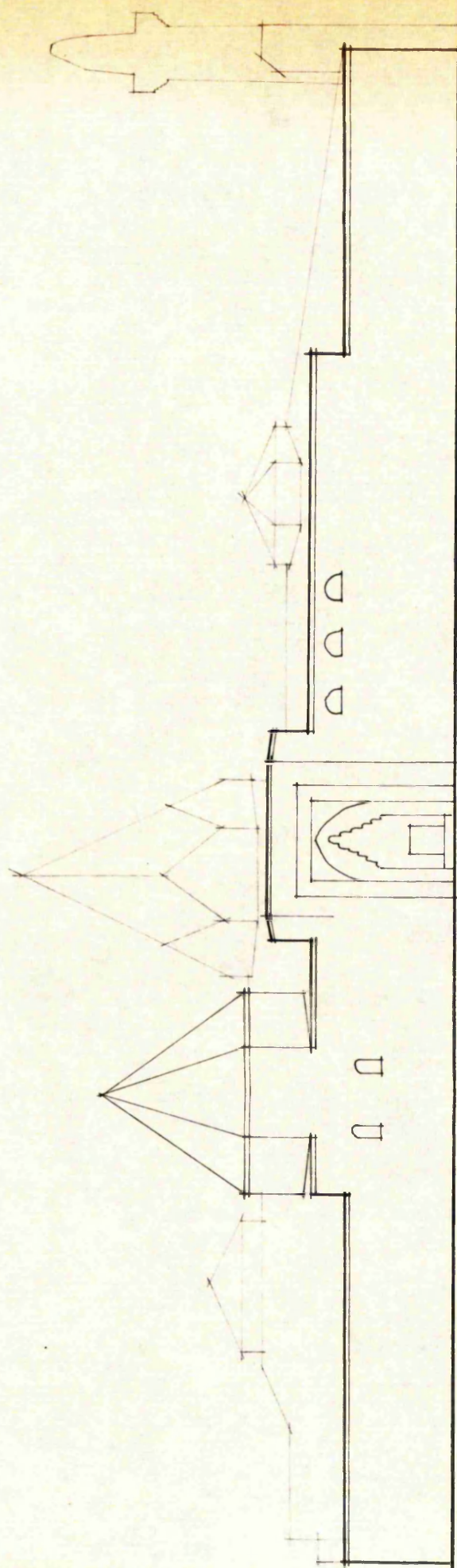


north

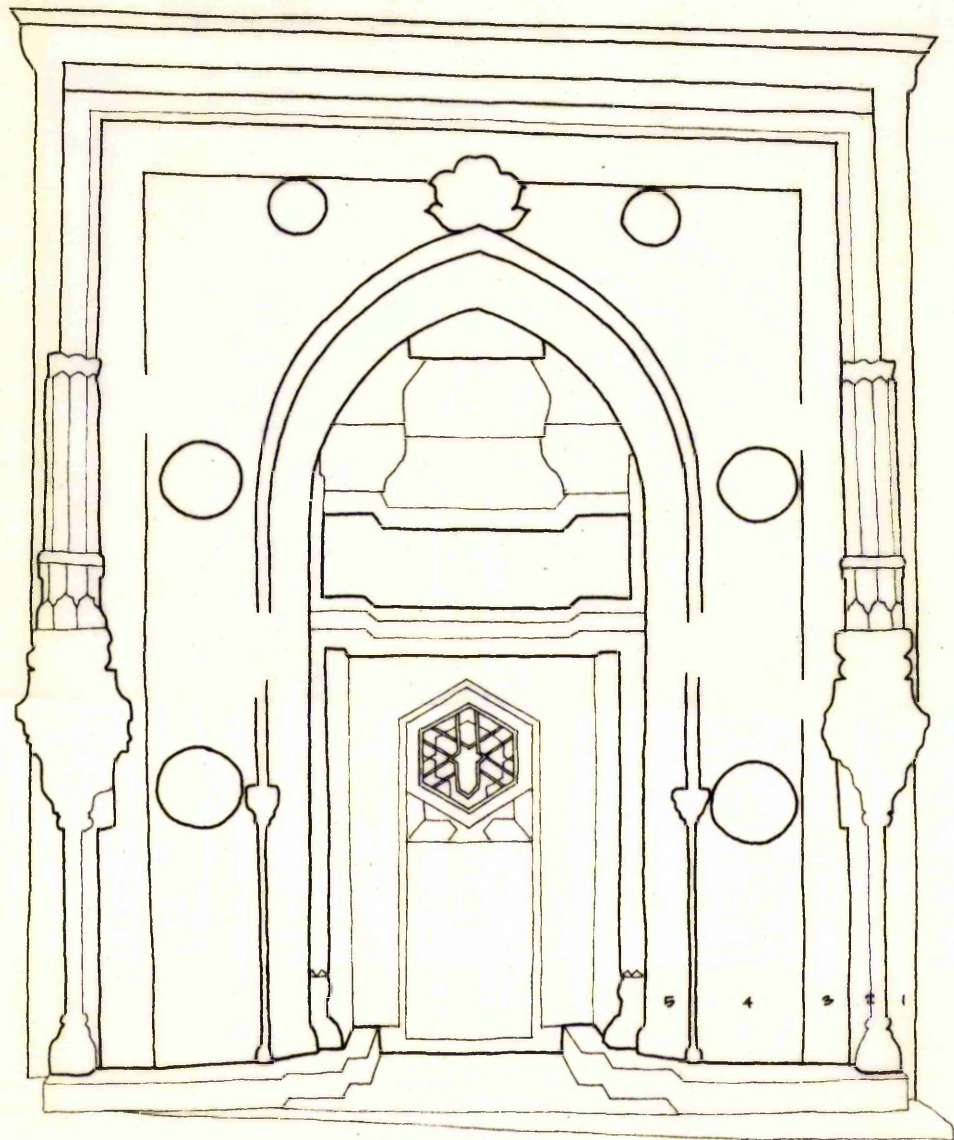
elevations 1:250



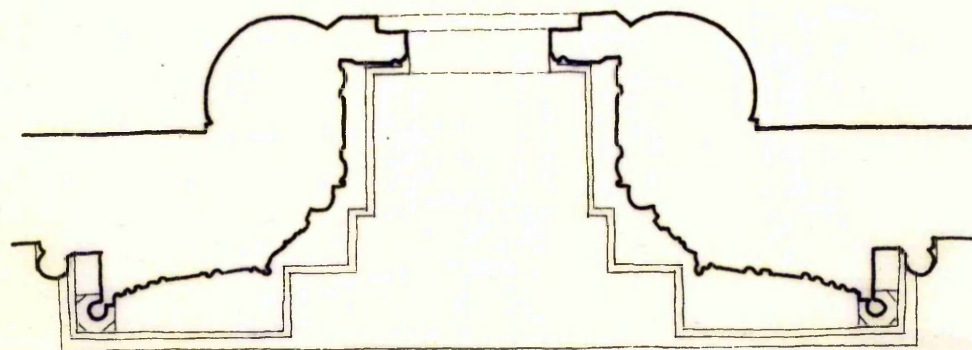
west elevation 1:250



east elevation 1:250



north portal



plan

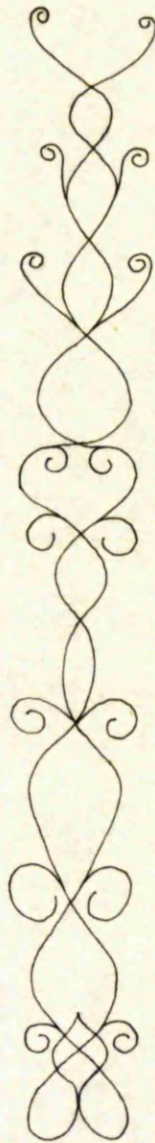






frame 4

right



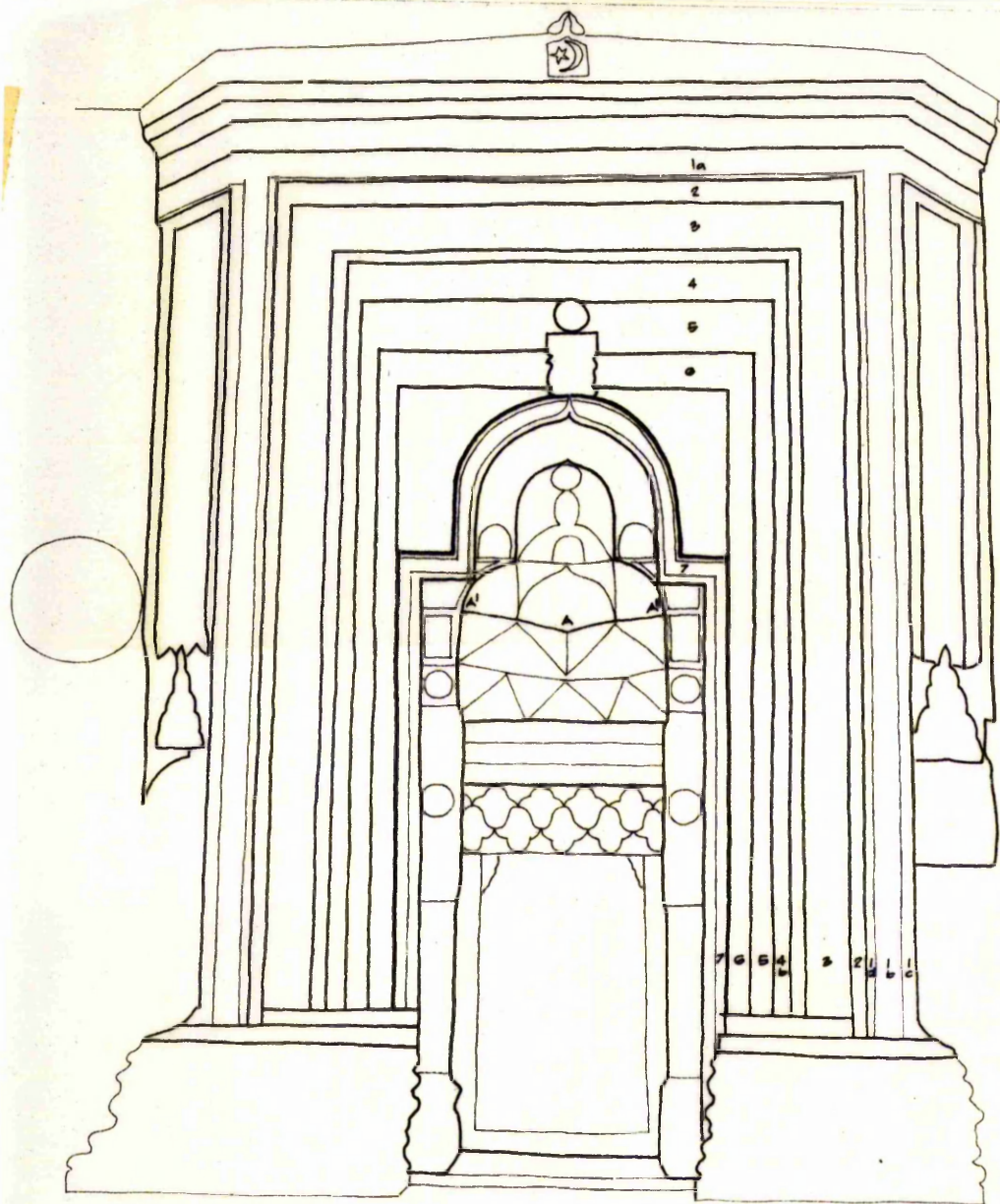
analysed
pattern



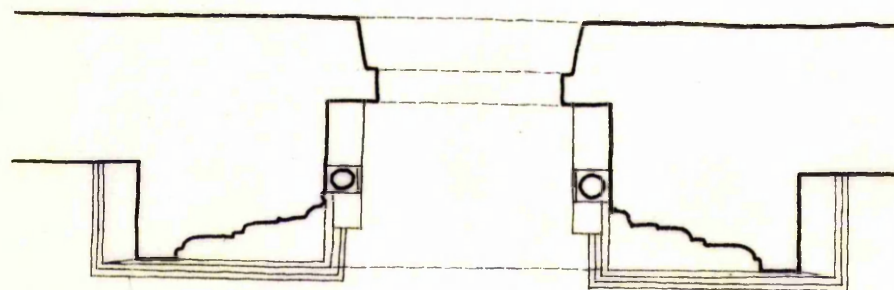
frame 4

left

north portal



west portal



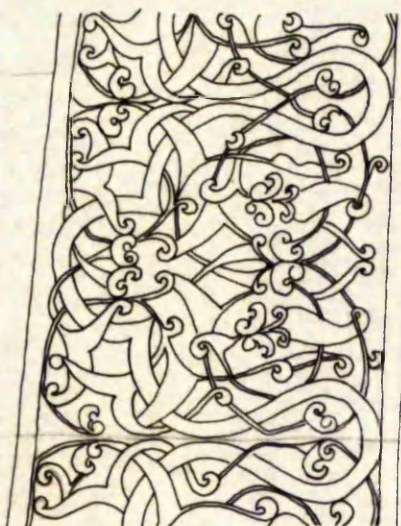
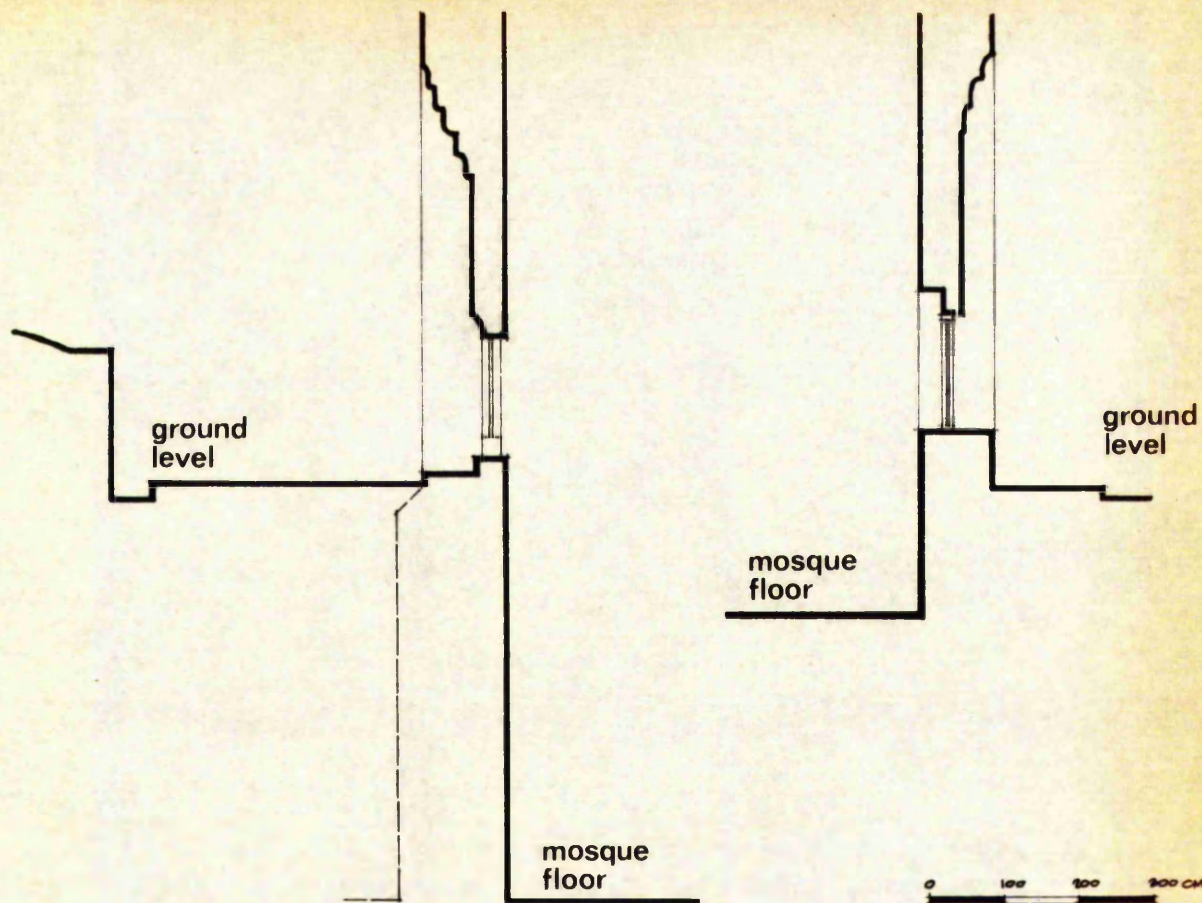
plan



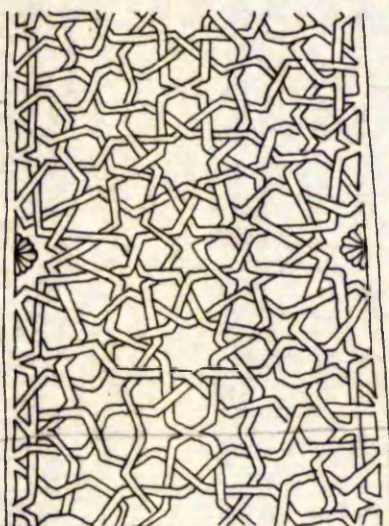


section: Divriği

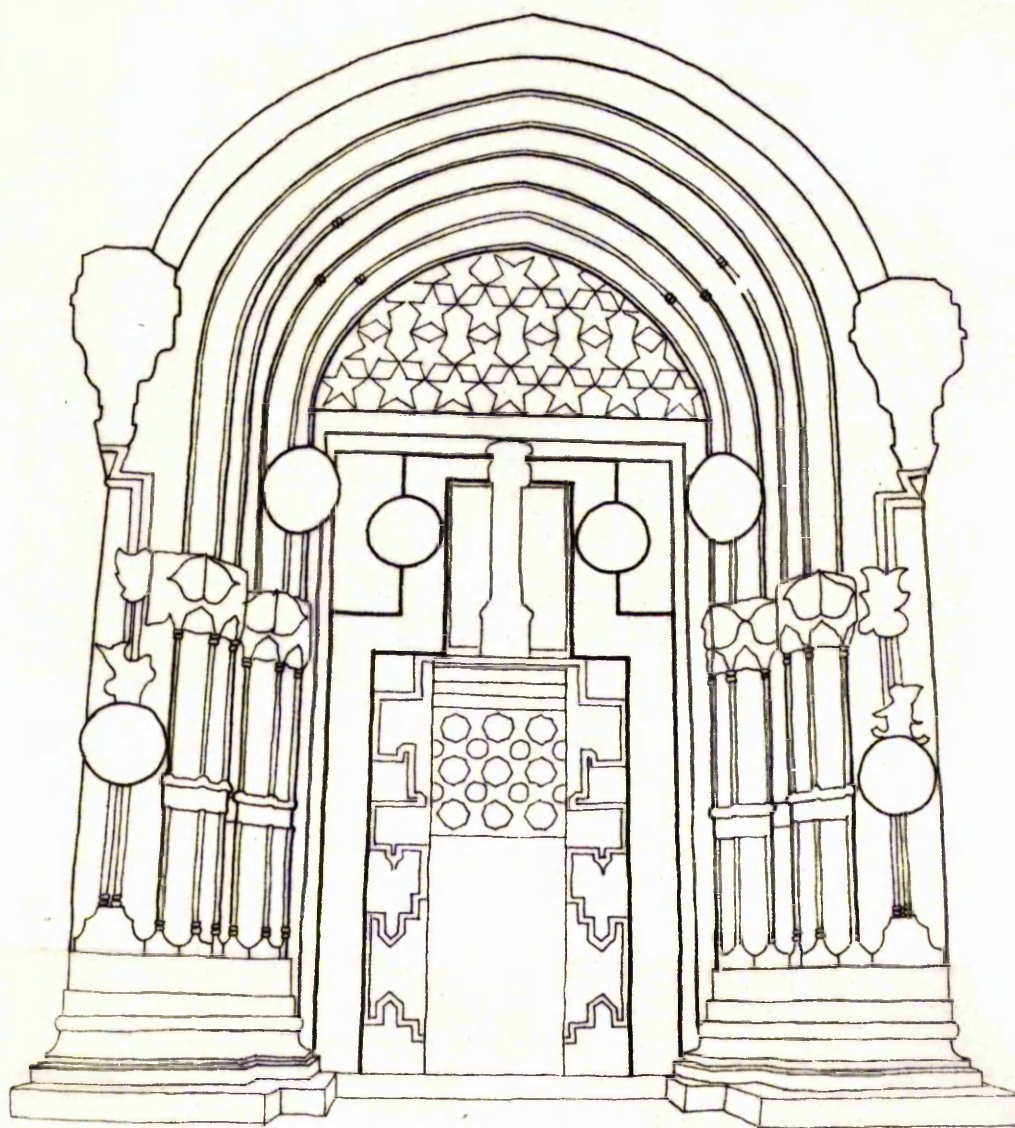
section: Niğde



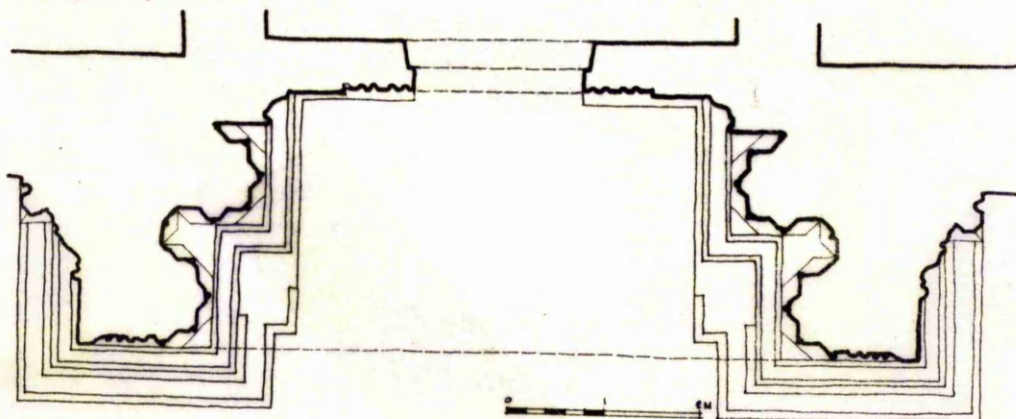
outer band



inner band

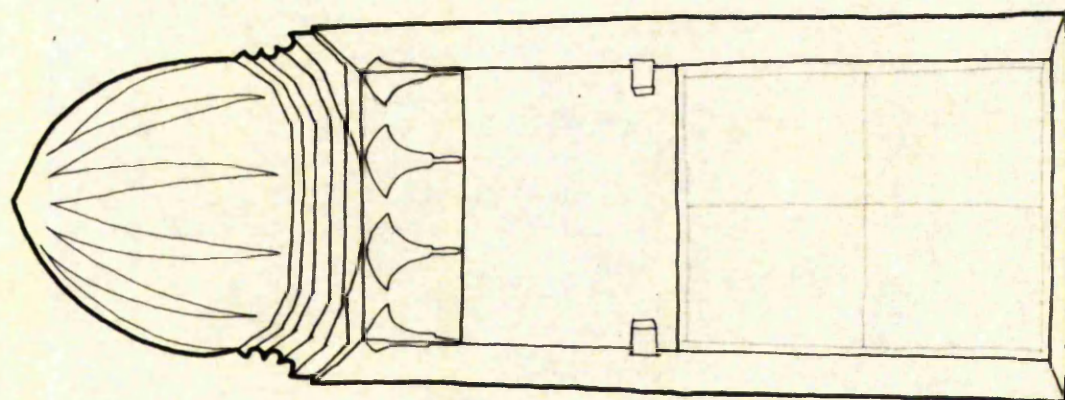


hospital portal

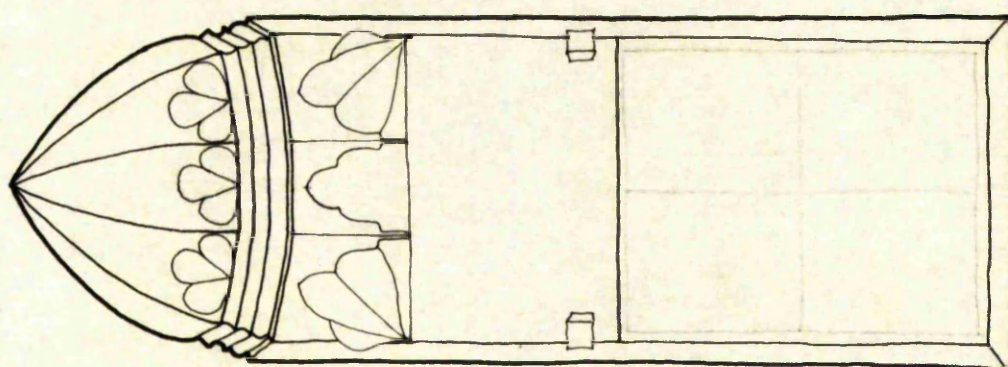


plan

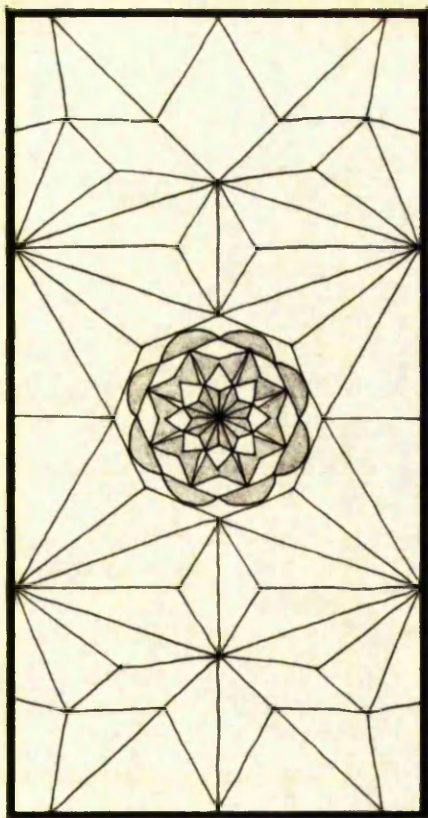




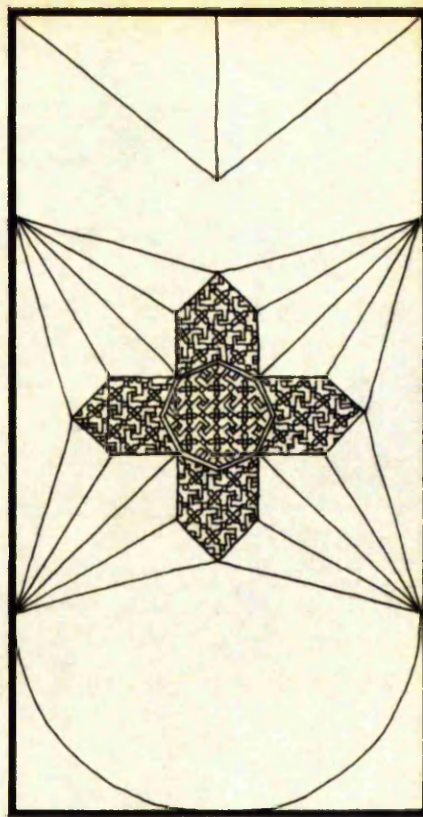
window b



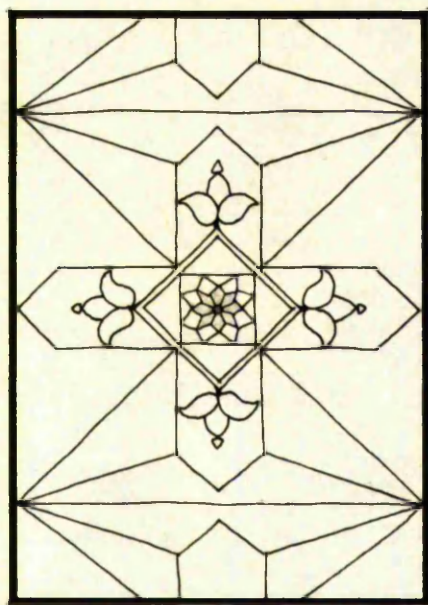
window a



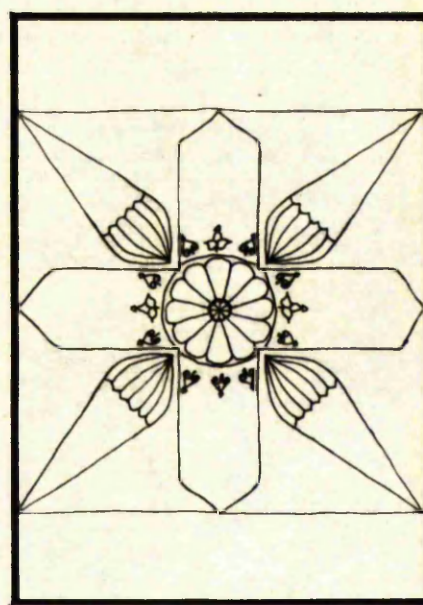
vault 1



vault 4

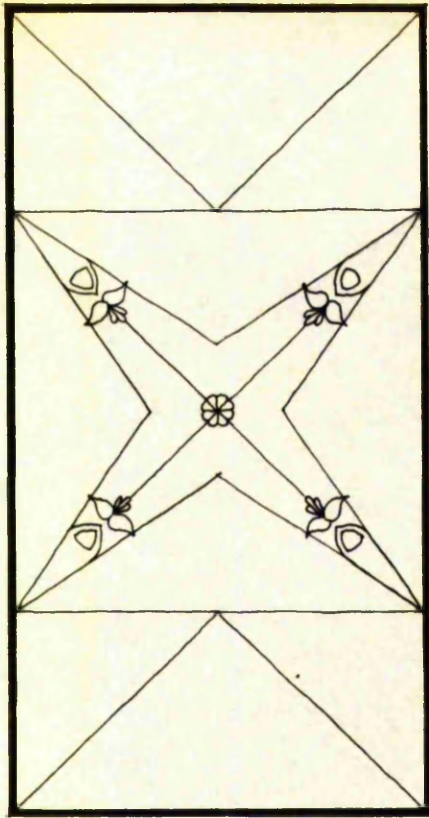


vault 6

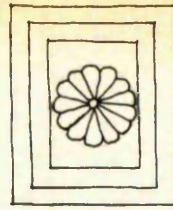


vault 7





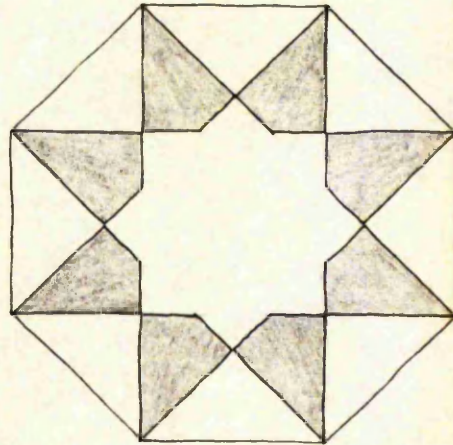
vault 2



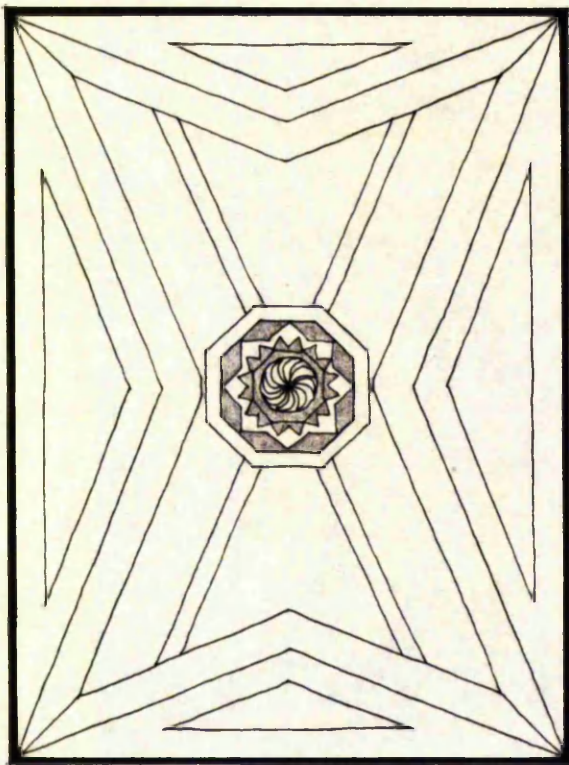
keystone
vault 9



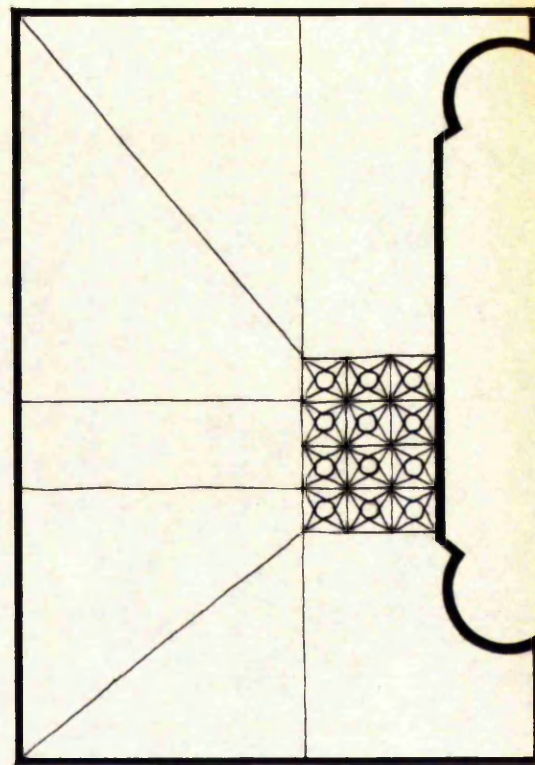
keystone
vault 25



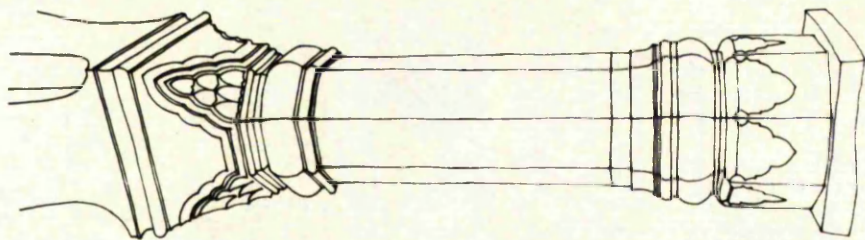
central pattern
vault 17



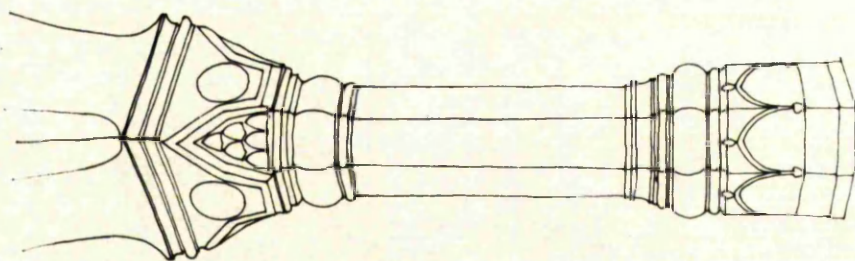
vault 18



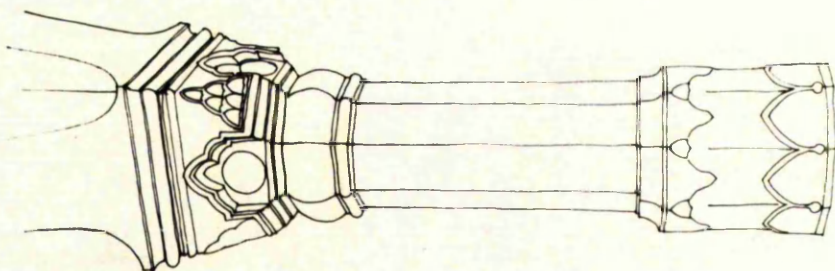
vault 23



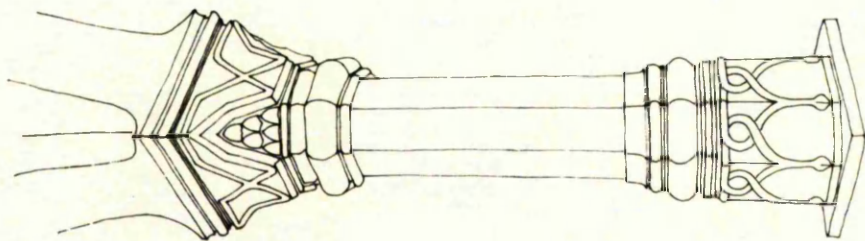
A



E

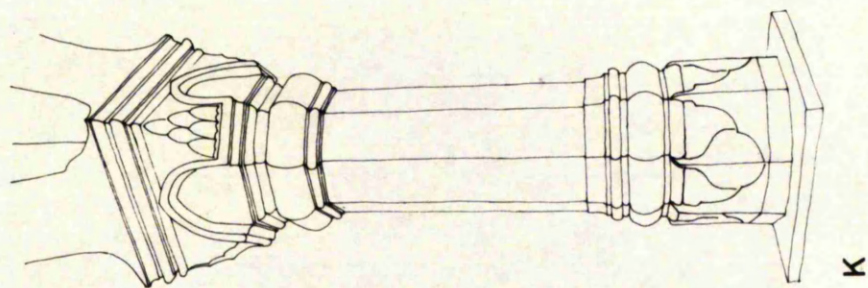
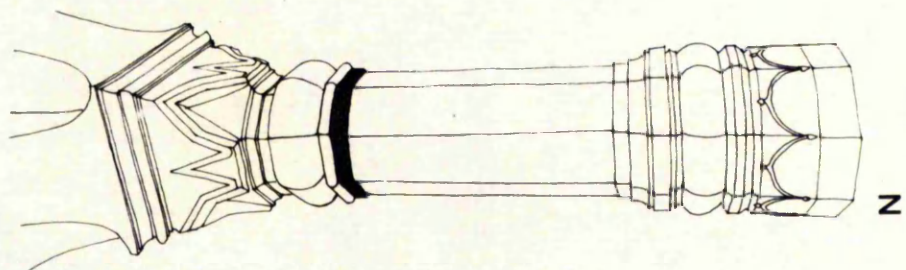
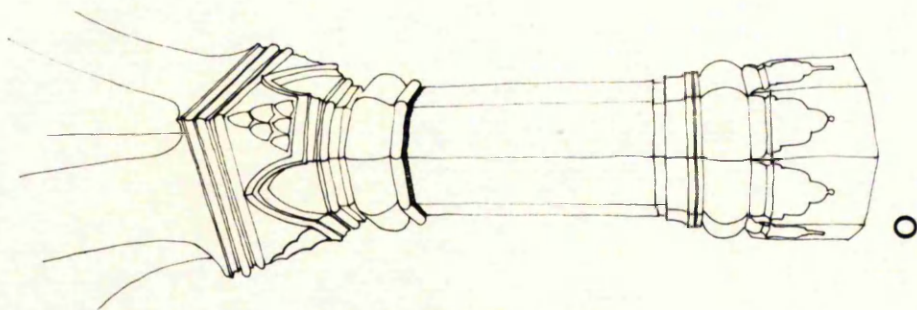


F

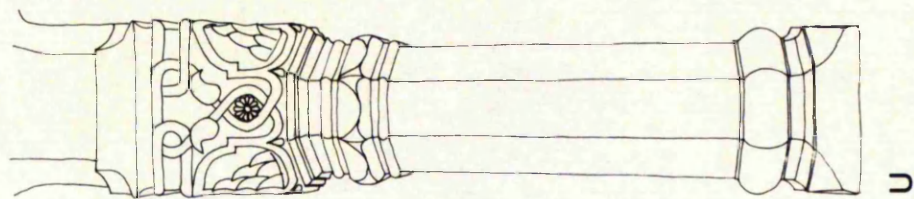


J

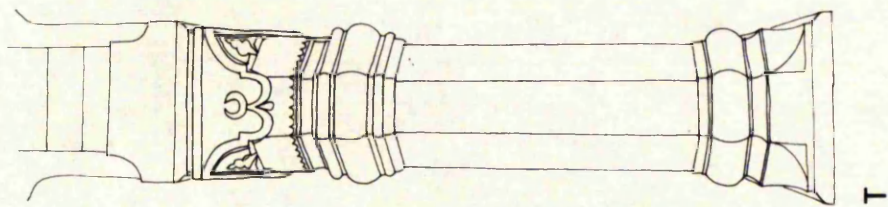
mosque columns



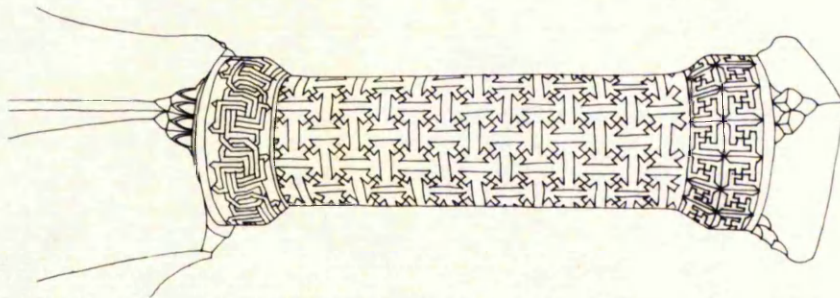
mosque columns



U



T

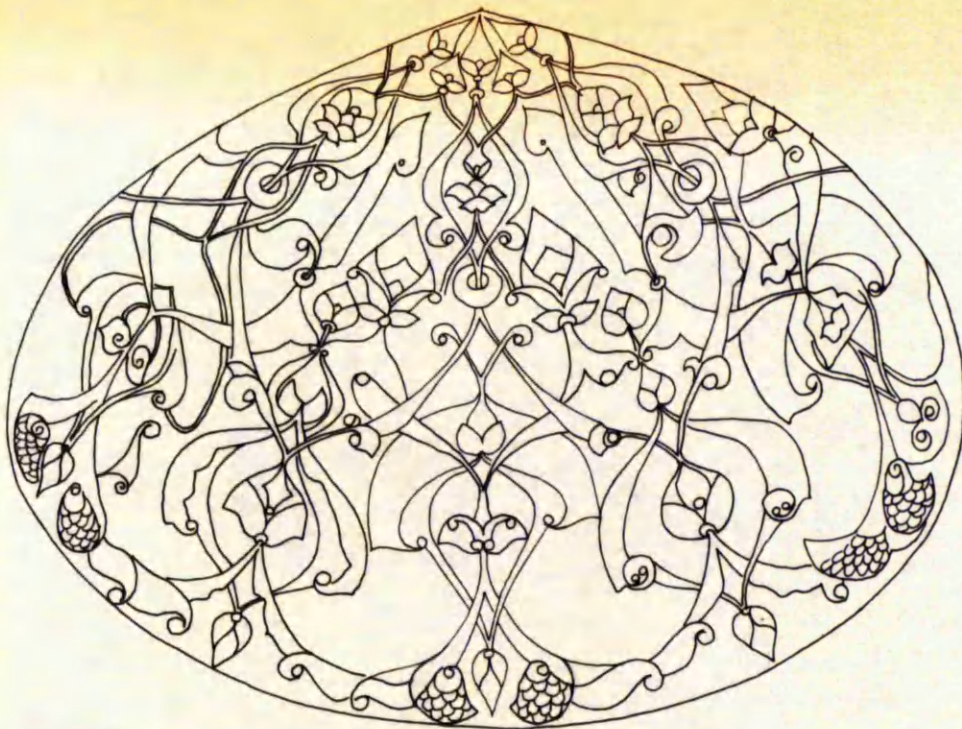


R

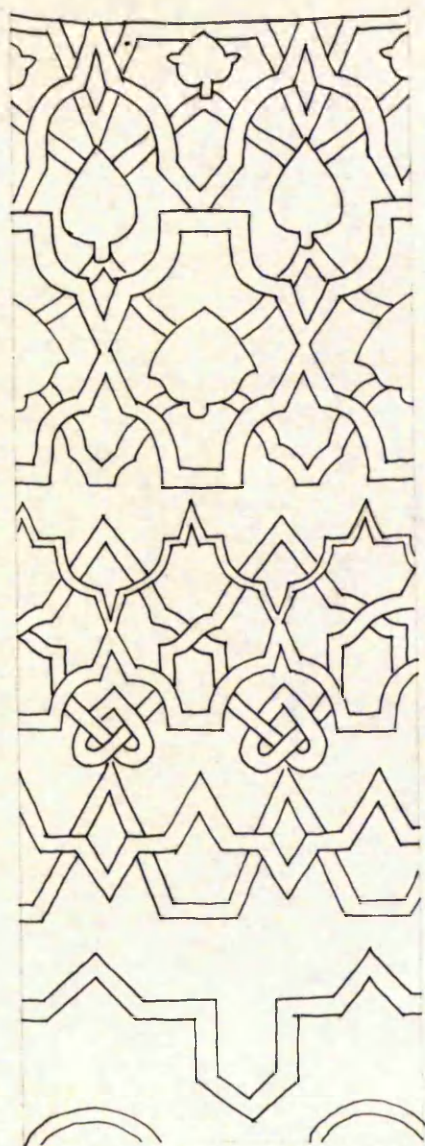


S

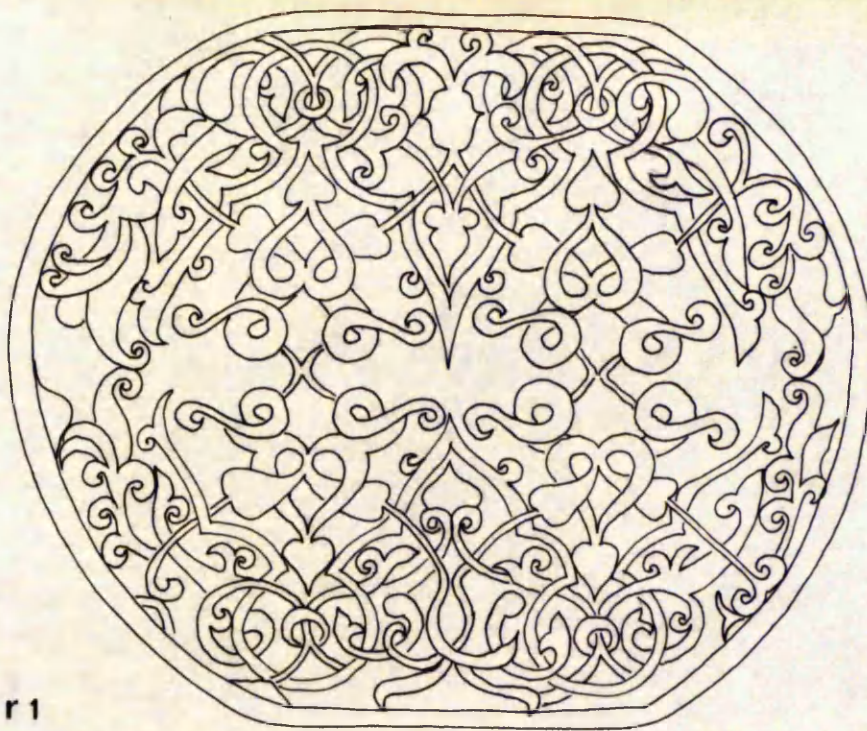
hospital columns



mihrāb tympanum



section of mihrāb wall

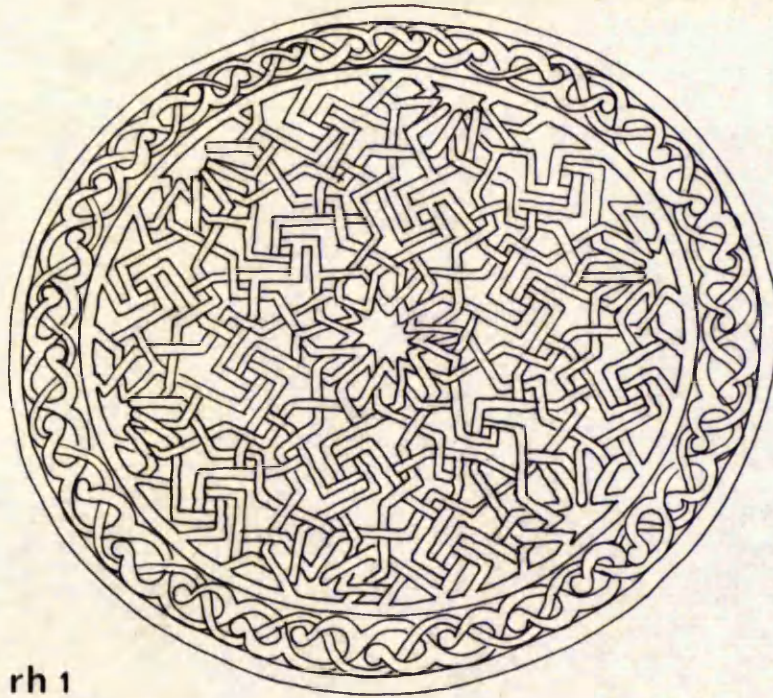


r1

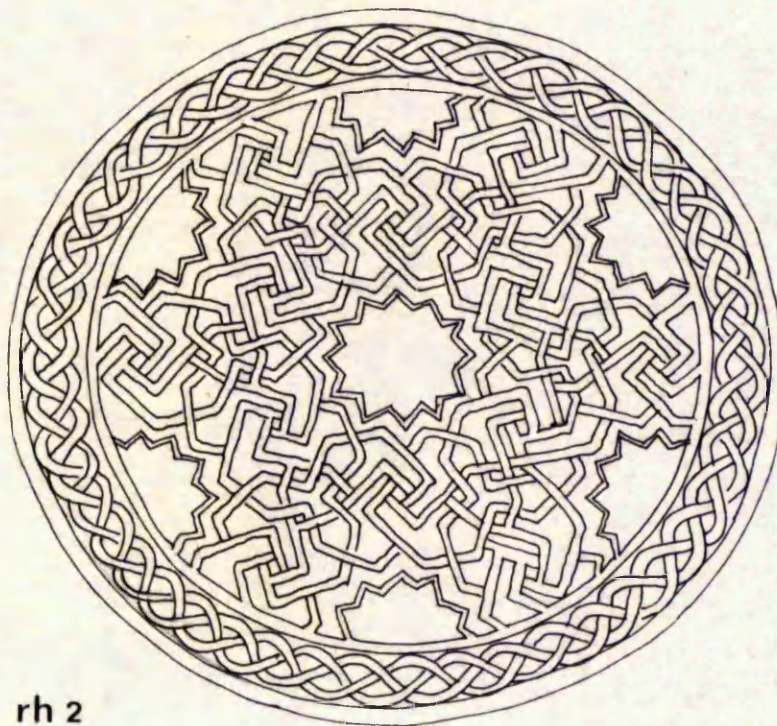


r2

ornamental roundels

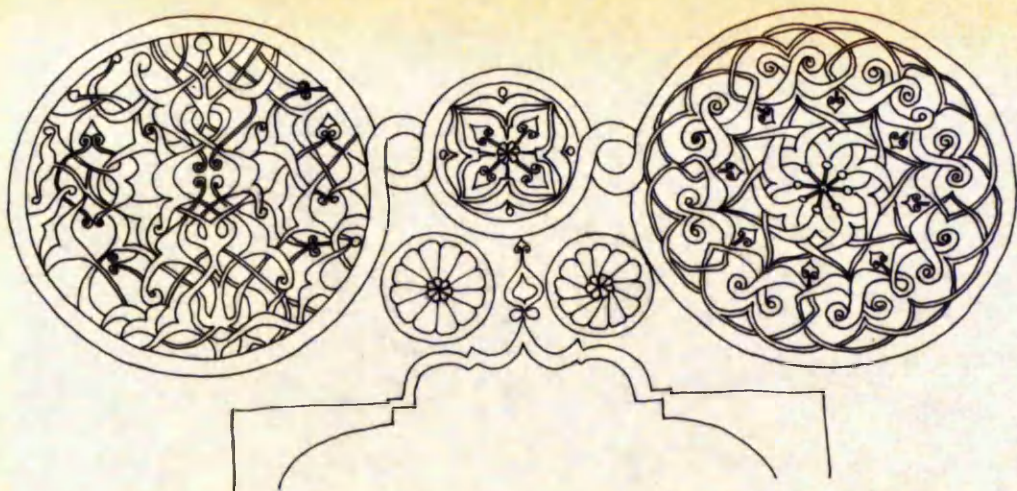


rh 1

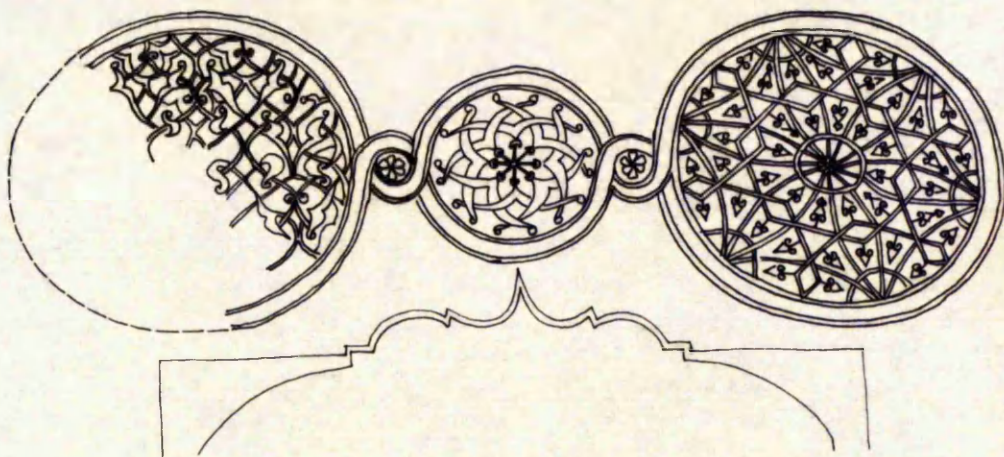


rh 2

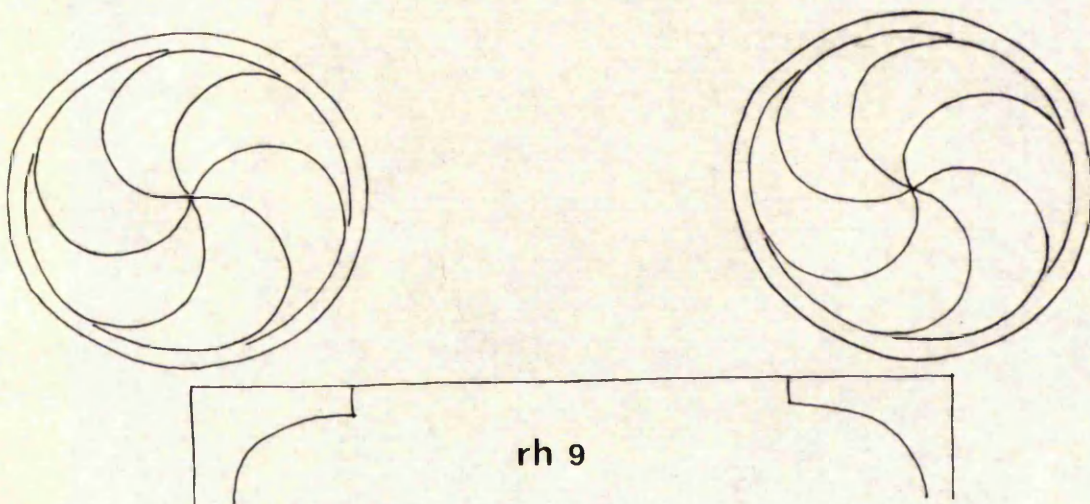
ornamental roundels



rh 3 · 4 · 5

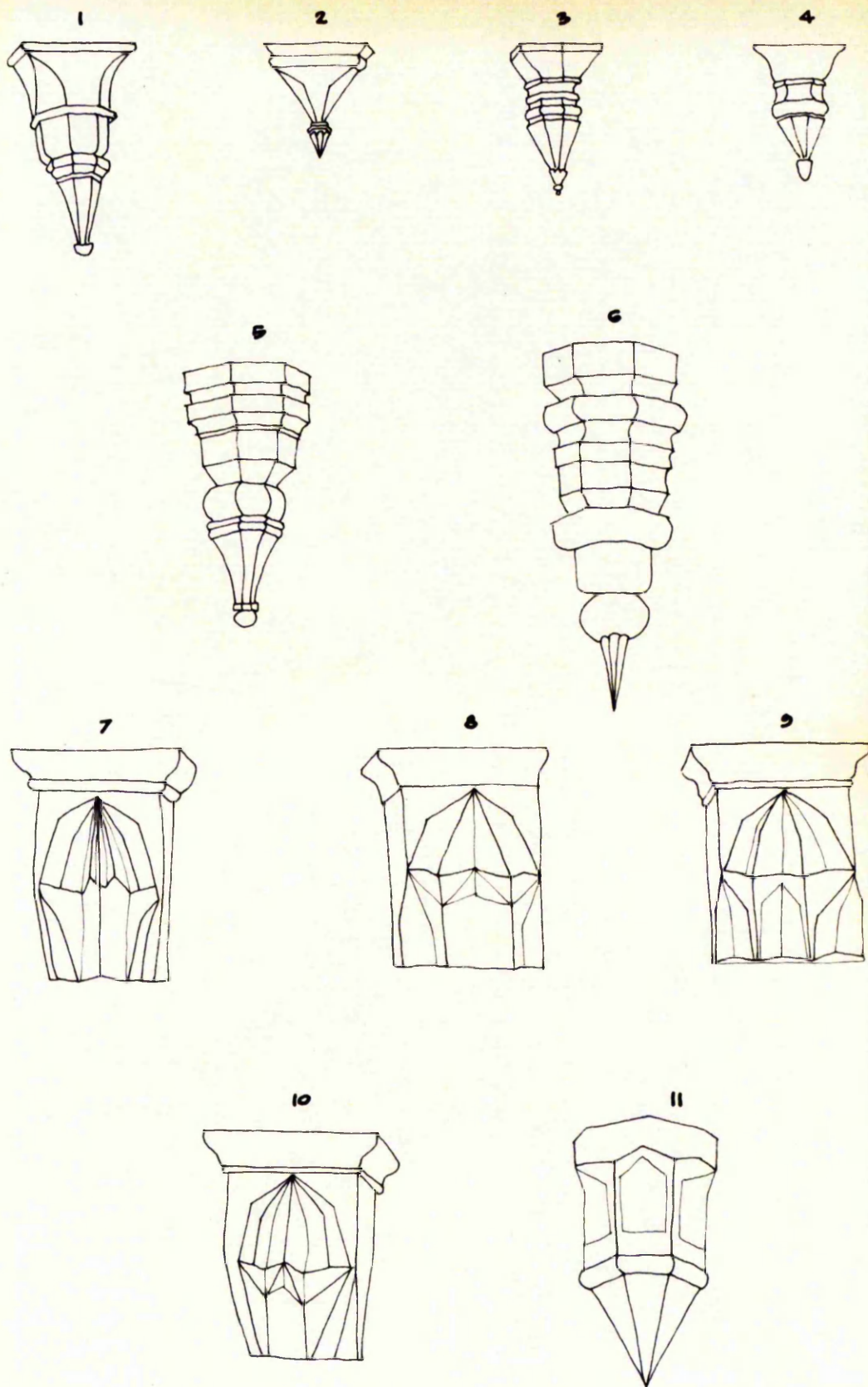


rh 6 · 7 · 8

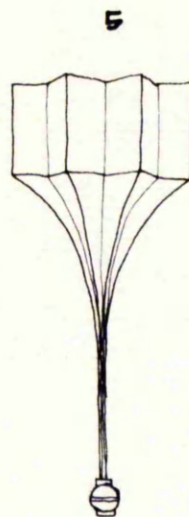
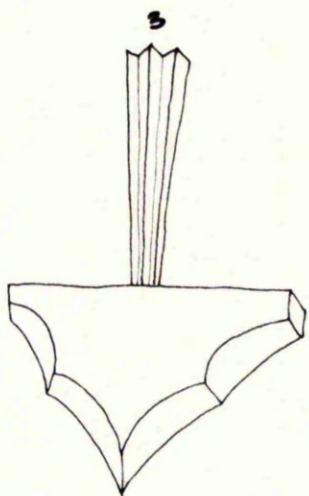
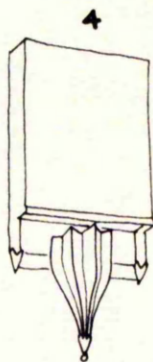
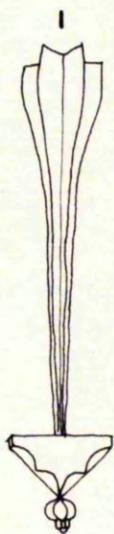


rh 9

ornamental roundels



mosque corbels



hospital corbels



1



2



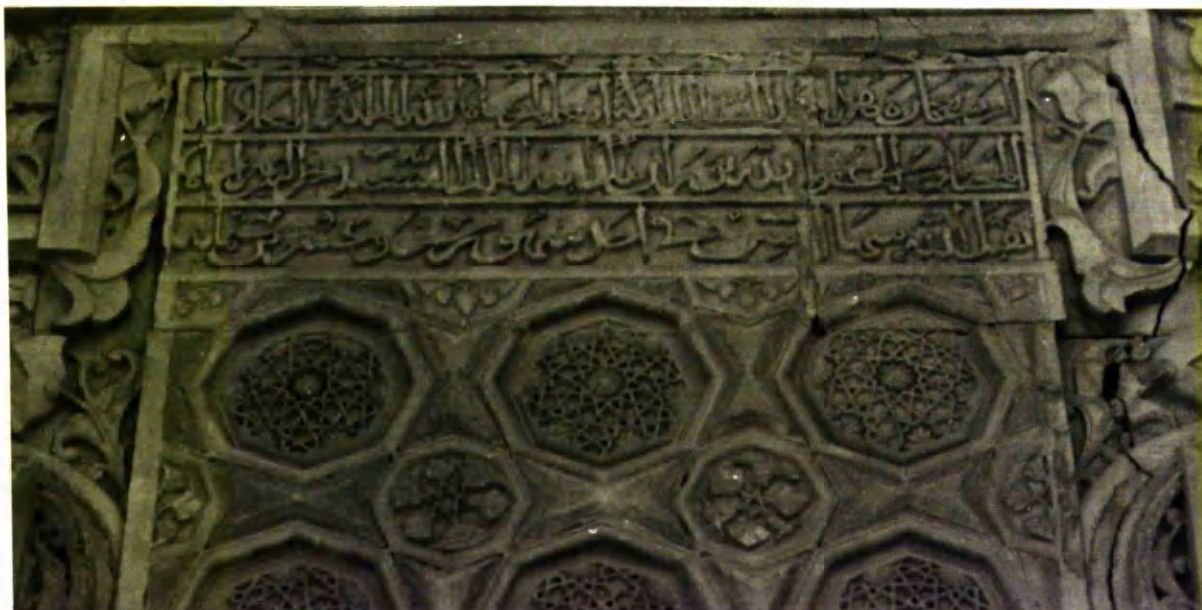
3



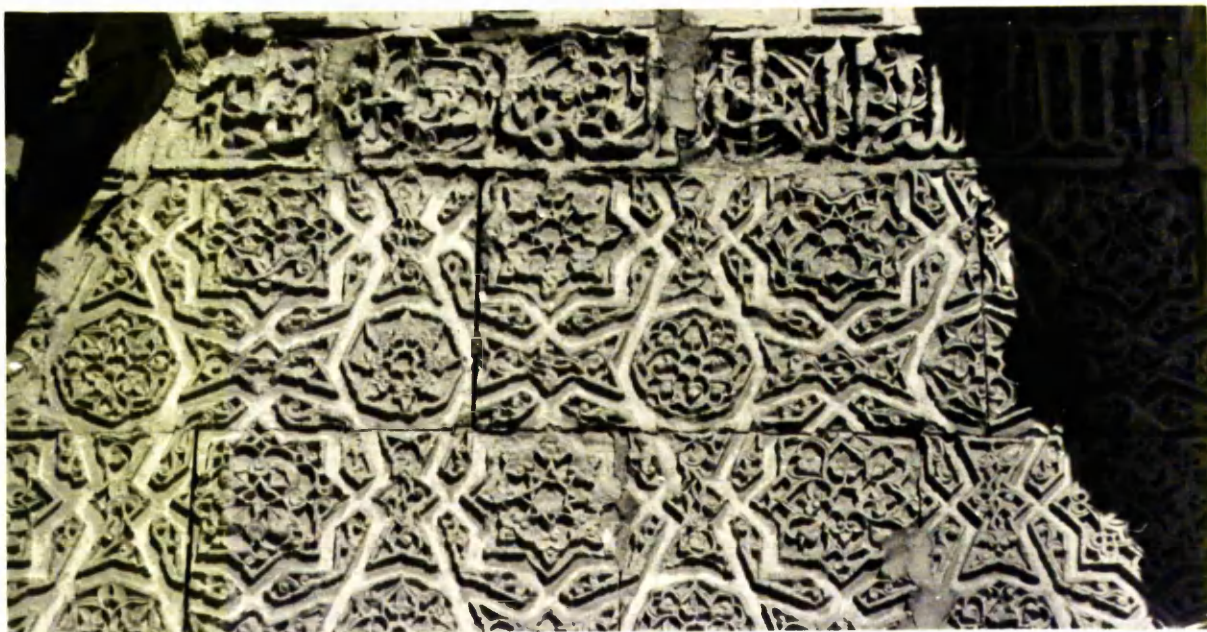
4



5



6



7



8



10



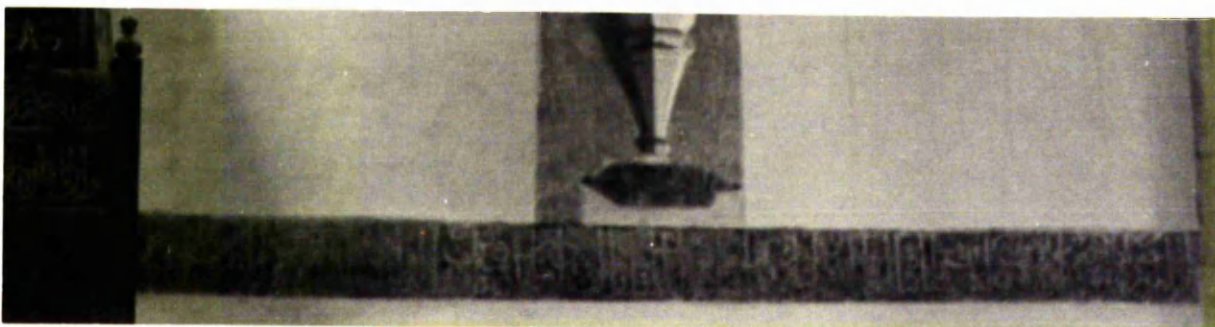
9



11

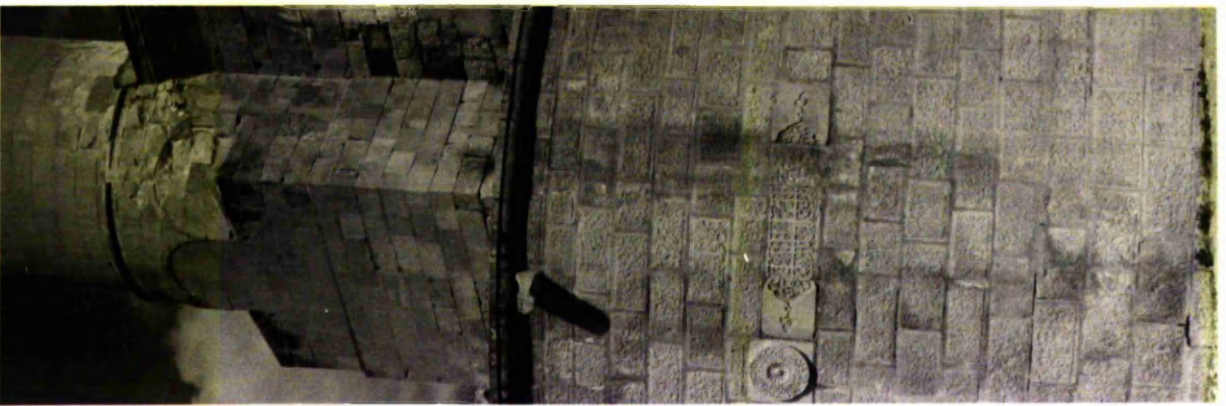


12

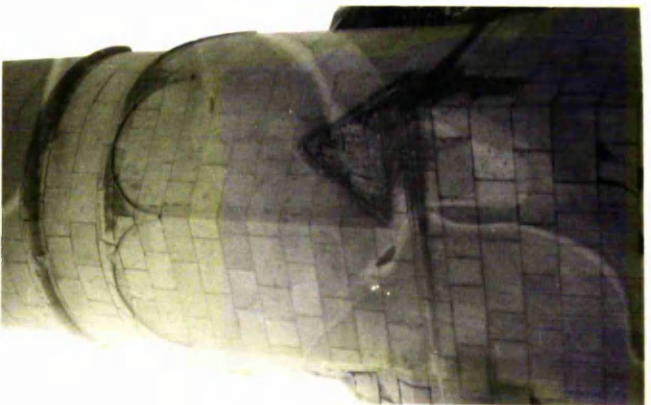


13

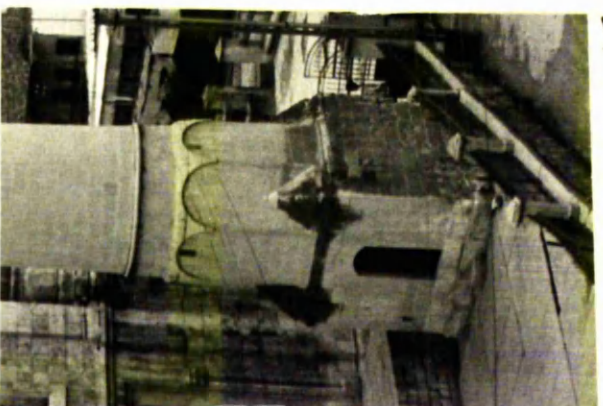
81



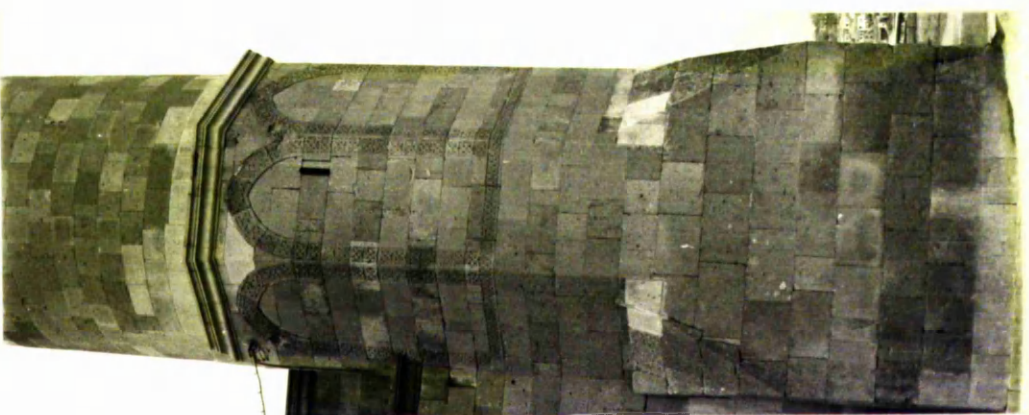
71



51



41



91







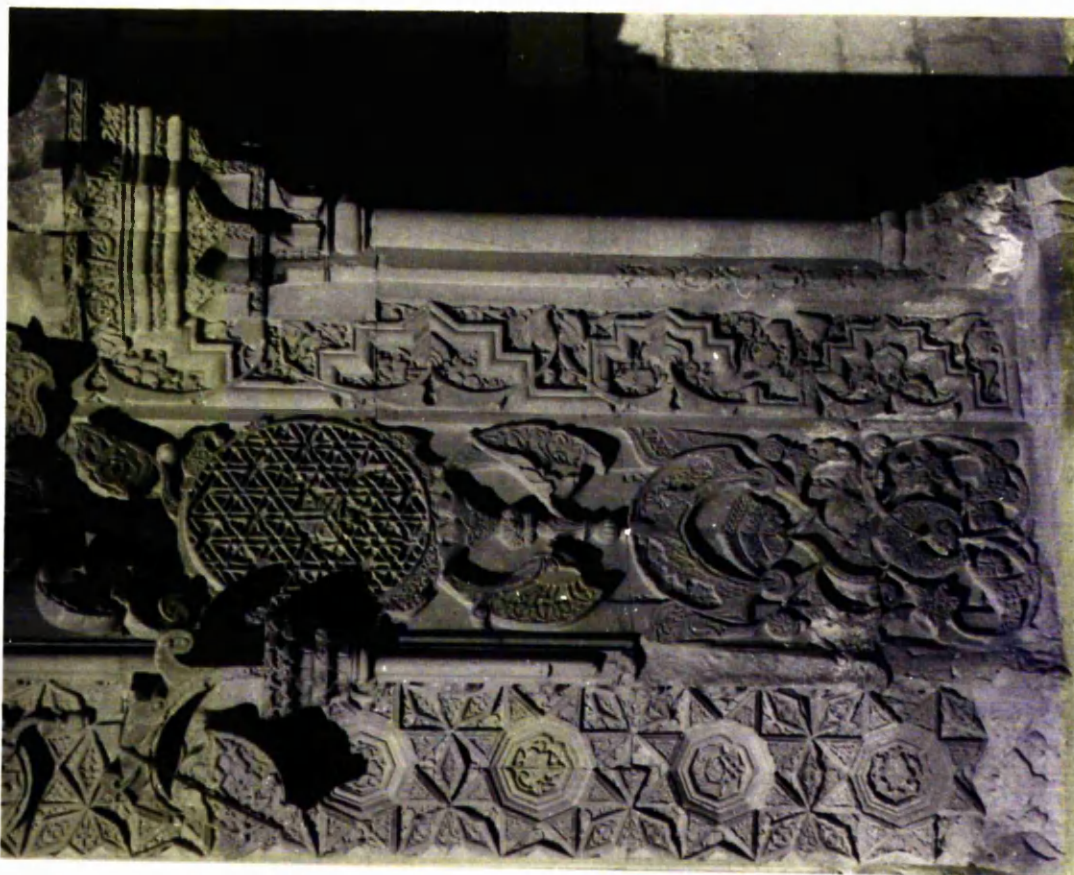
21



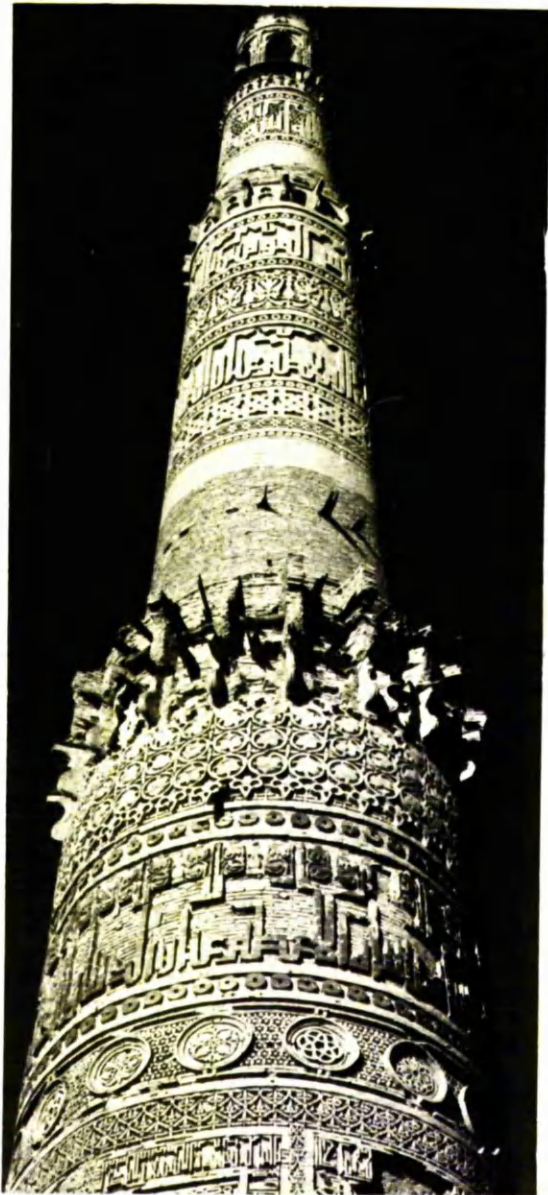
20



23



22



24



26



25



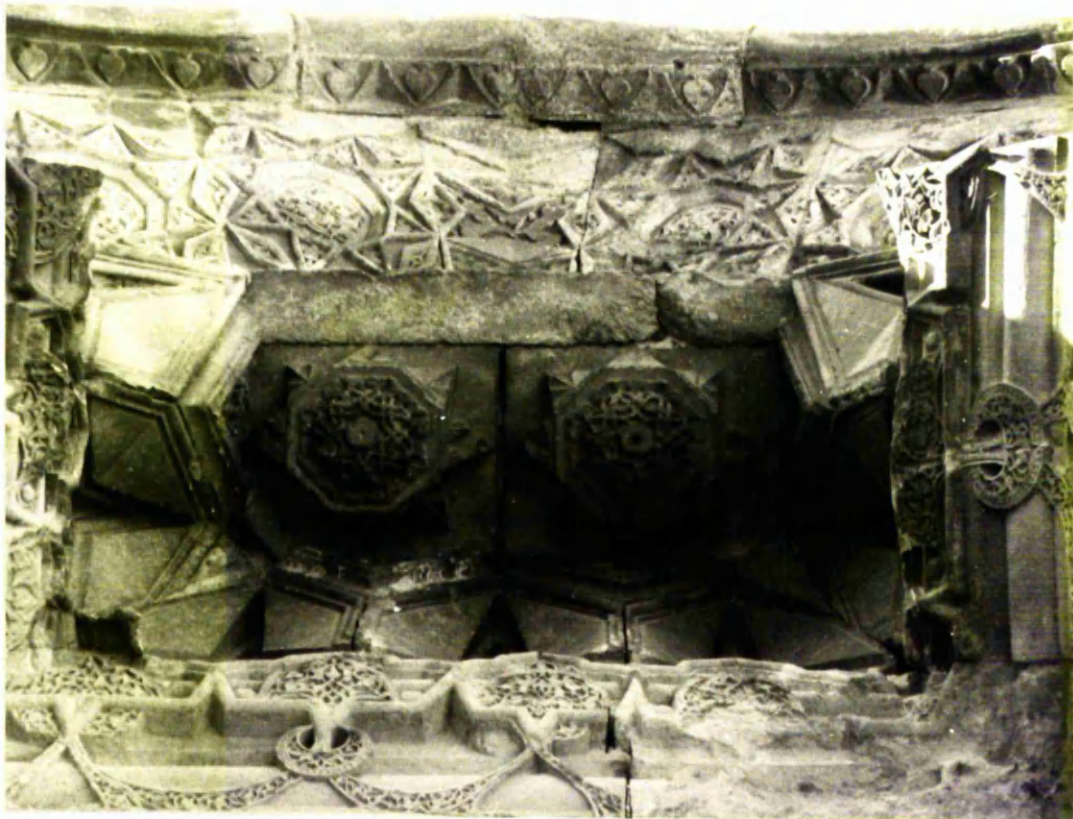
27



28

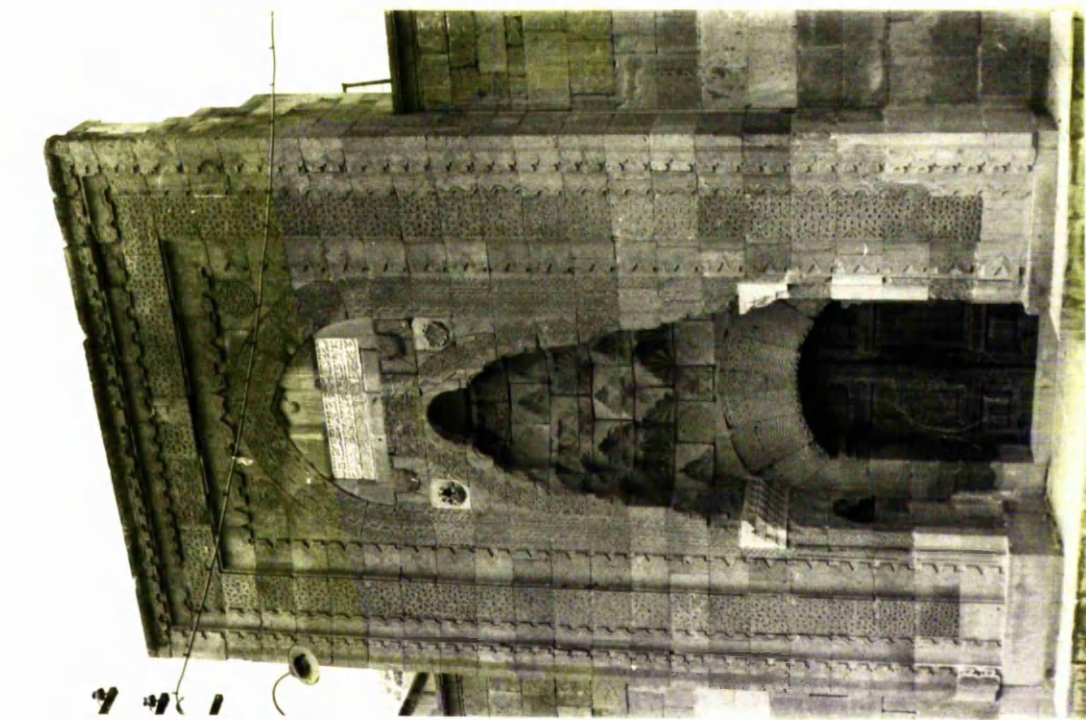


29

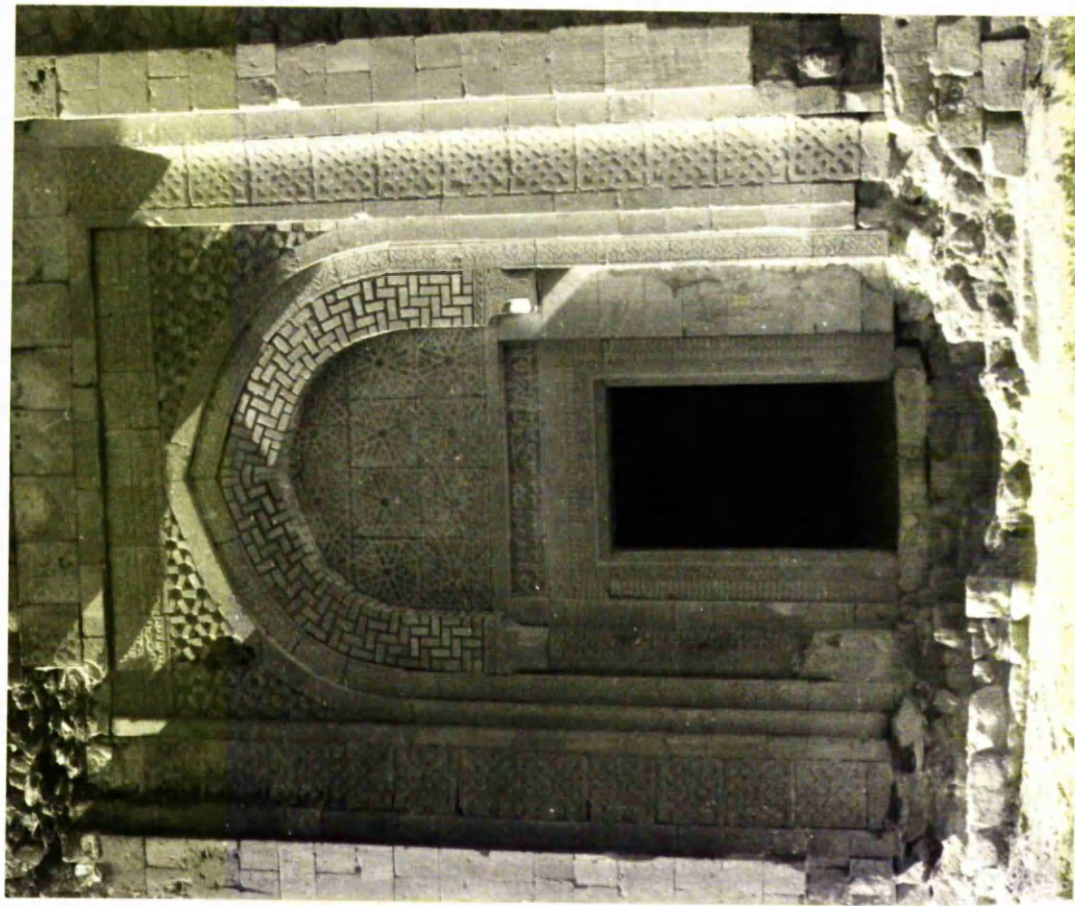


30





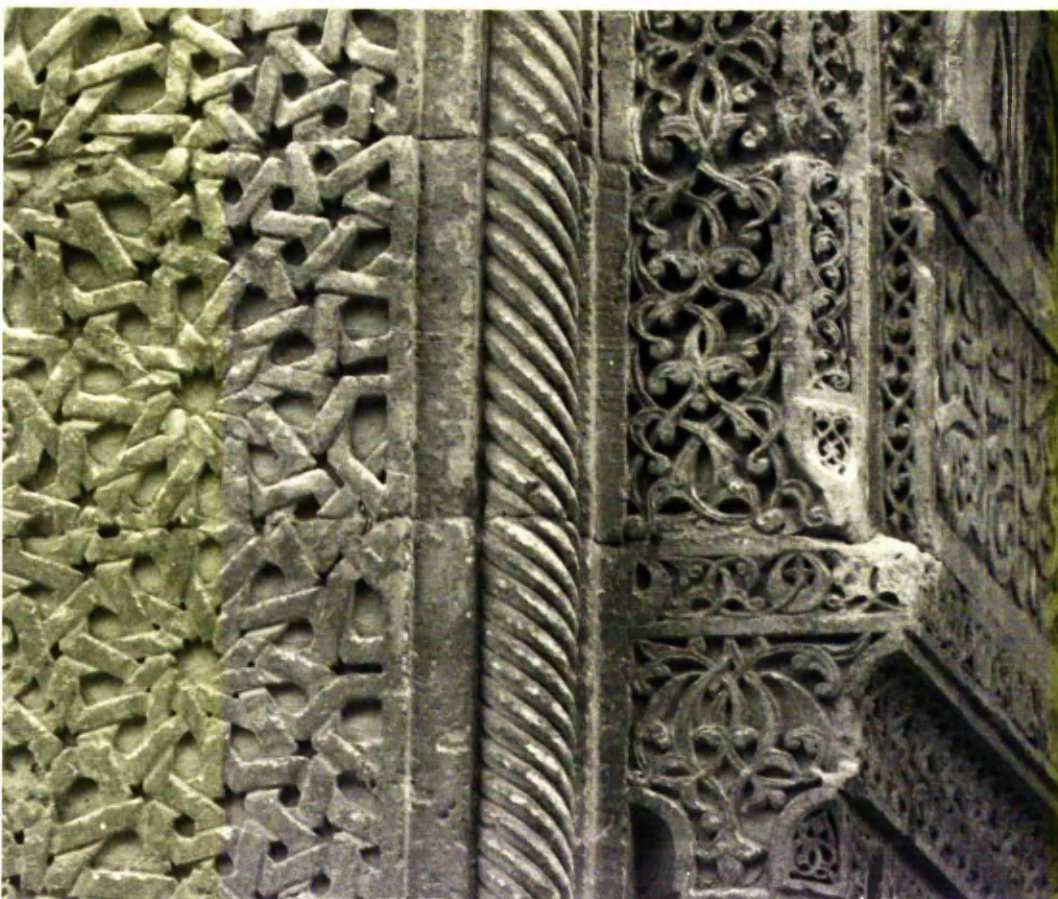
31a



32



33



34



35



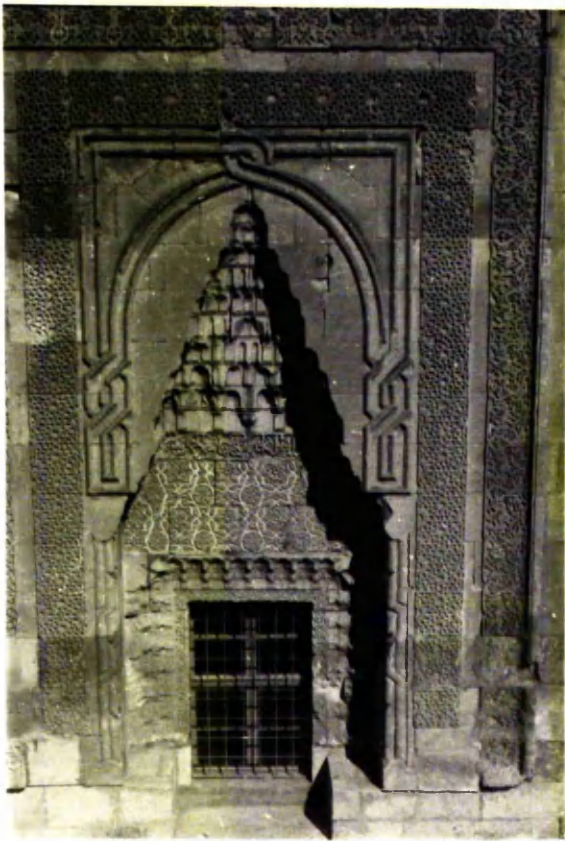
36



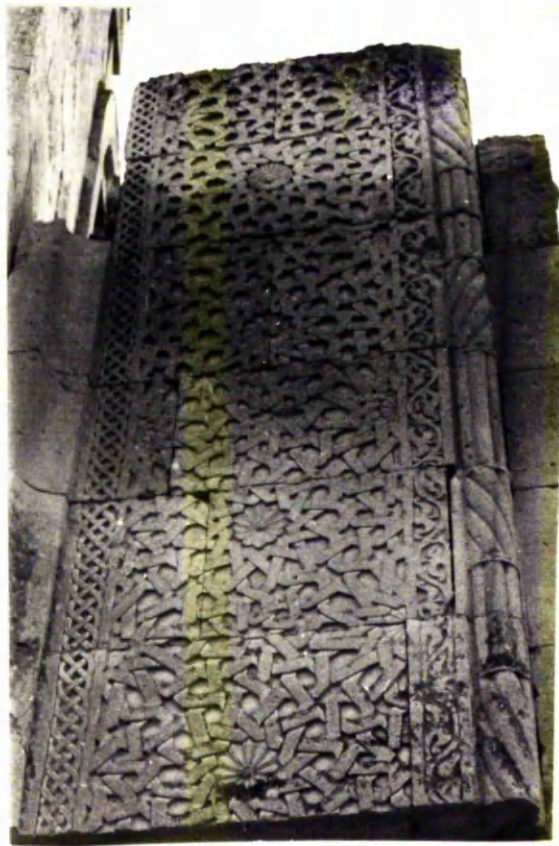
37



38



39



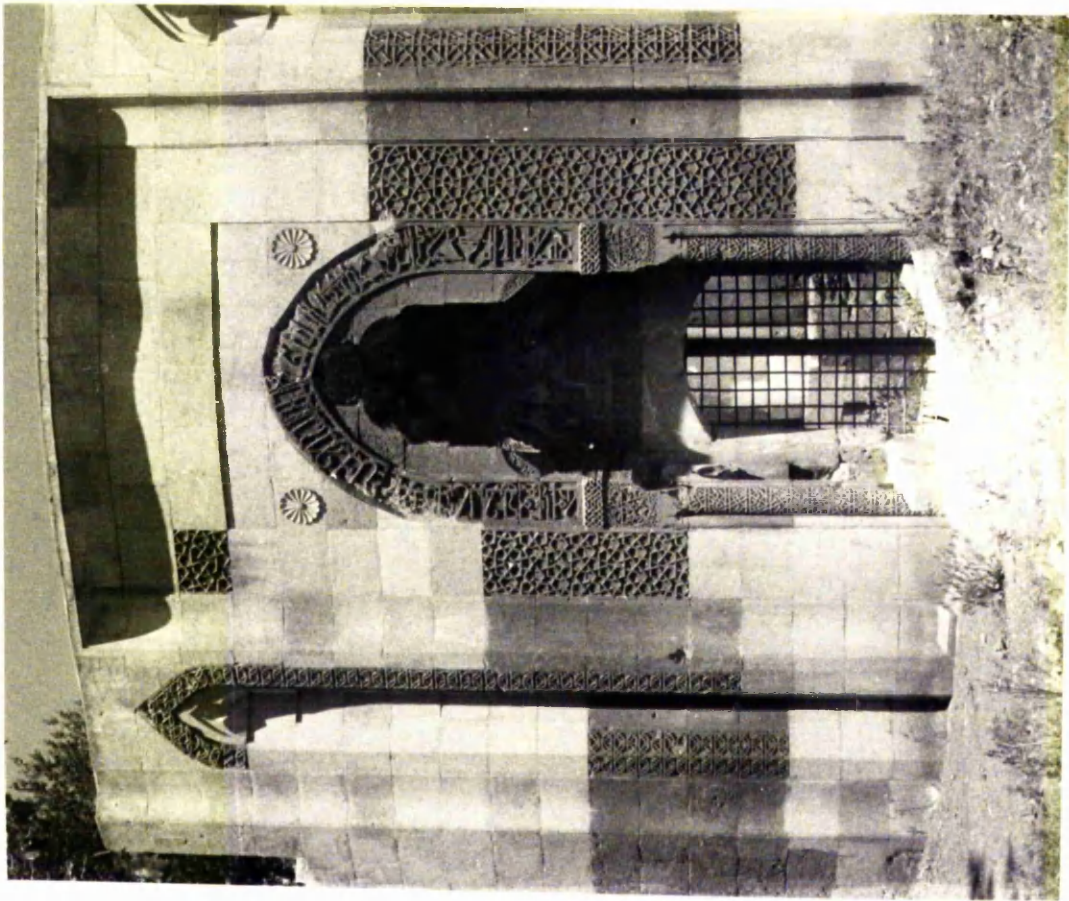
40



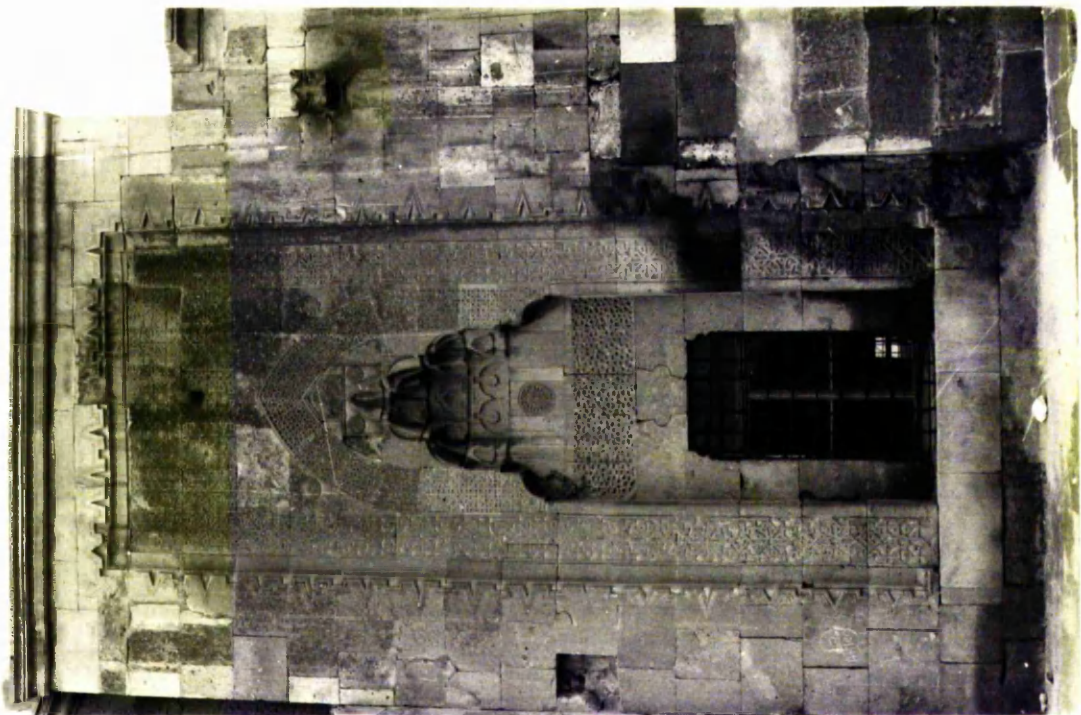
41



42



44



43



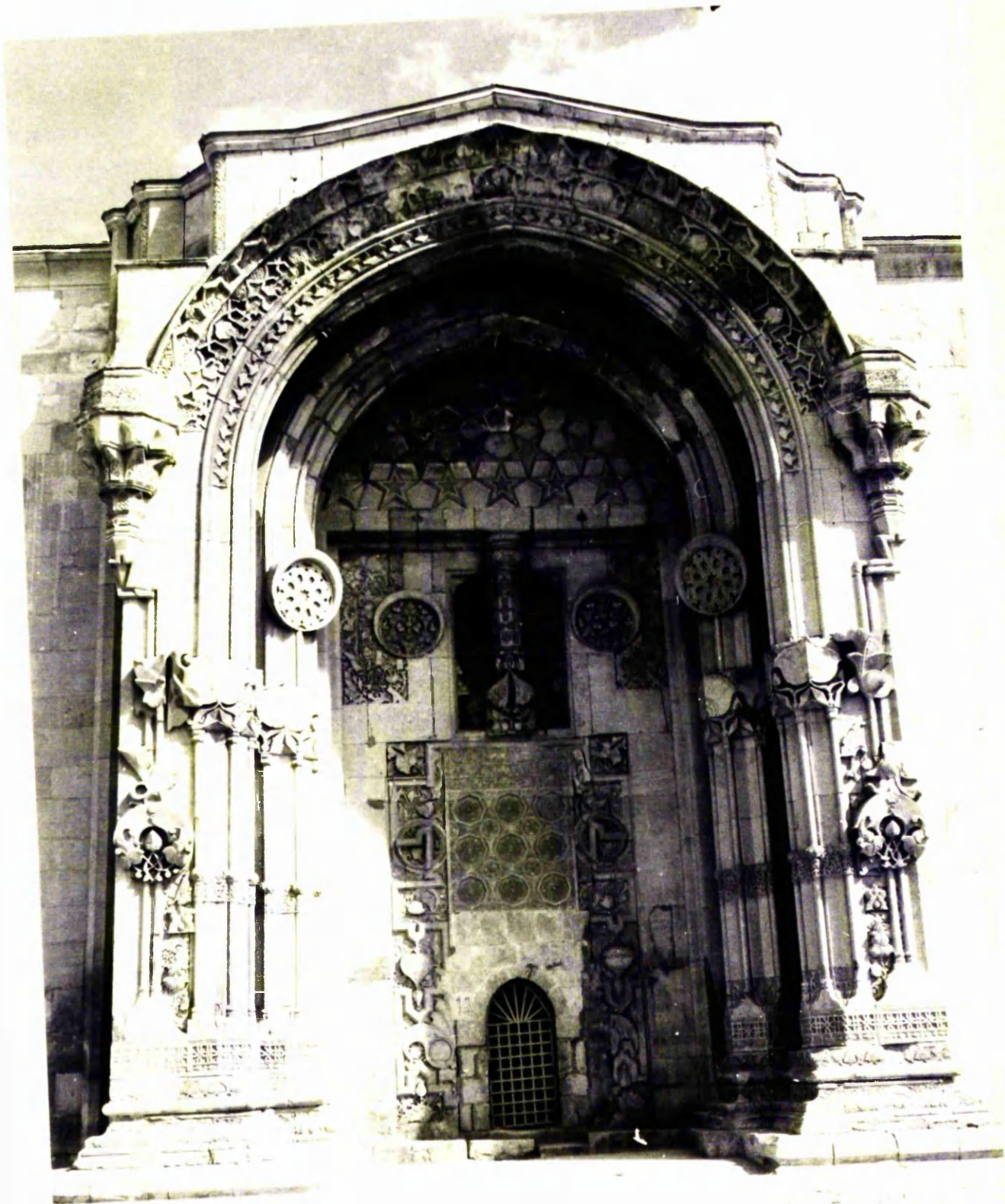
45



46



47





51

50



52



53



54



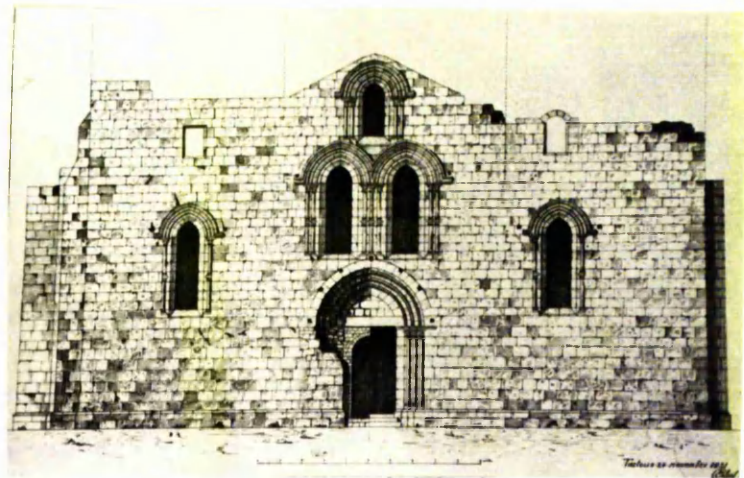
55



57



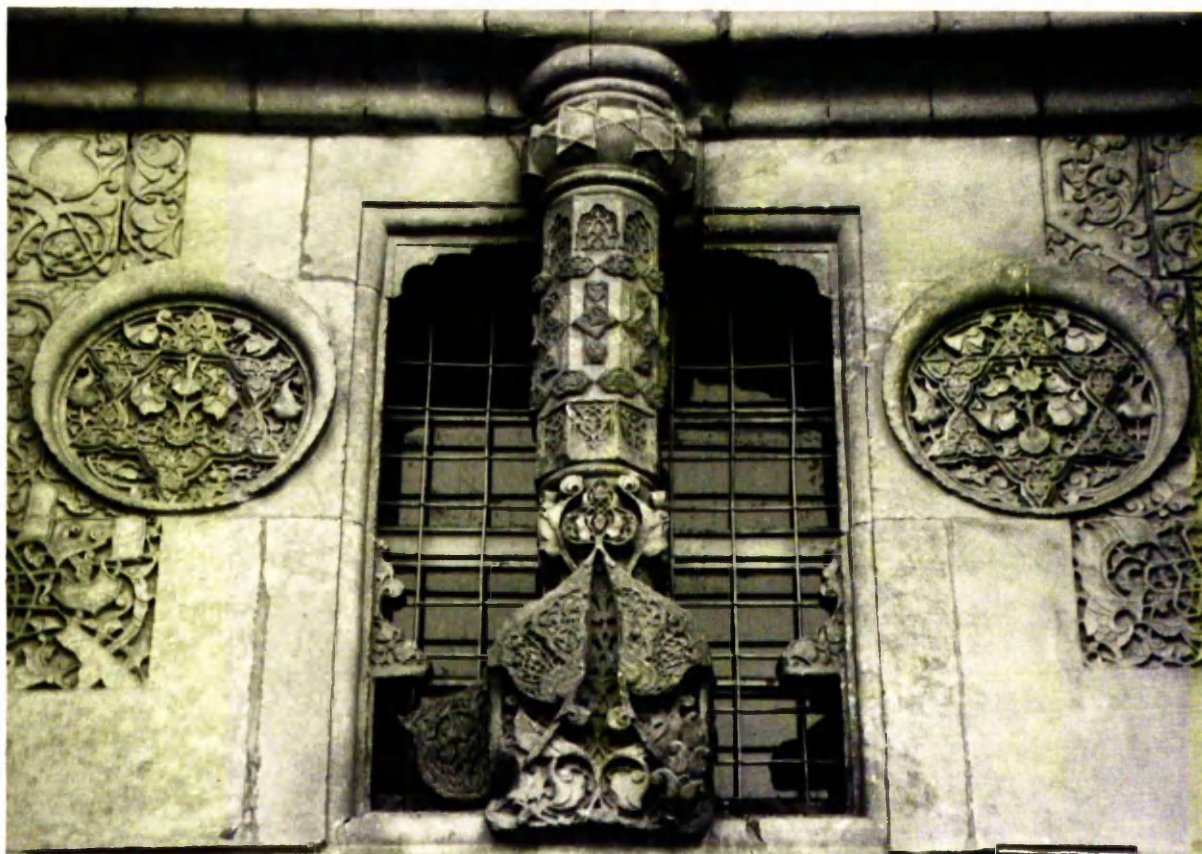
56



58



59



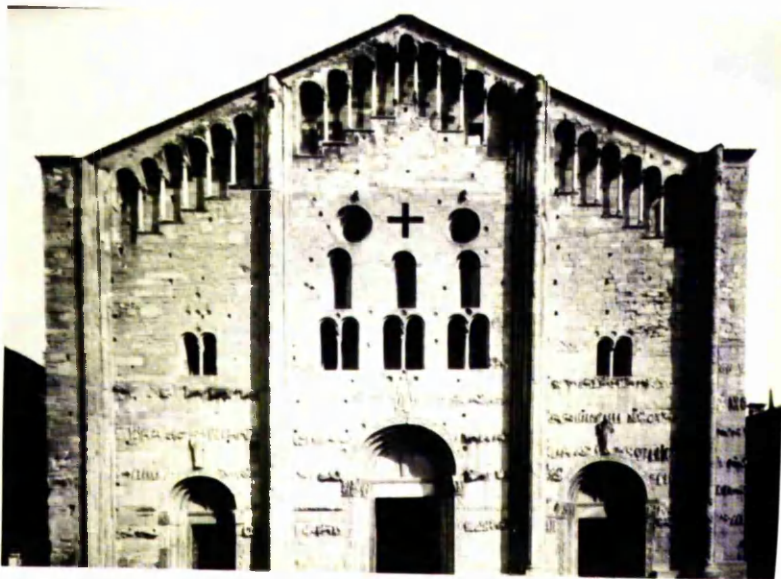
60



61



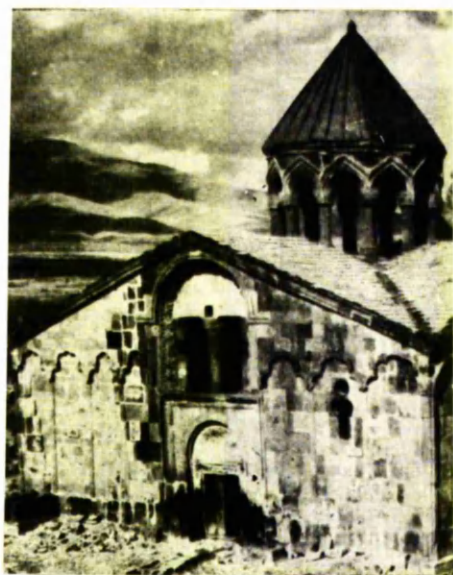
62



63



64



65



66



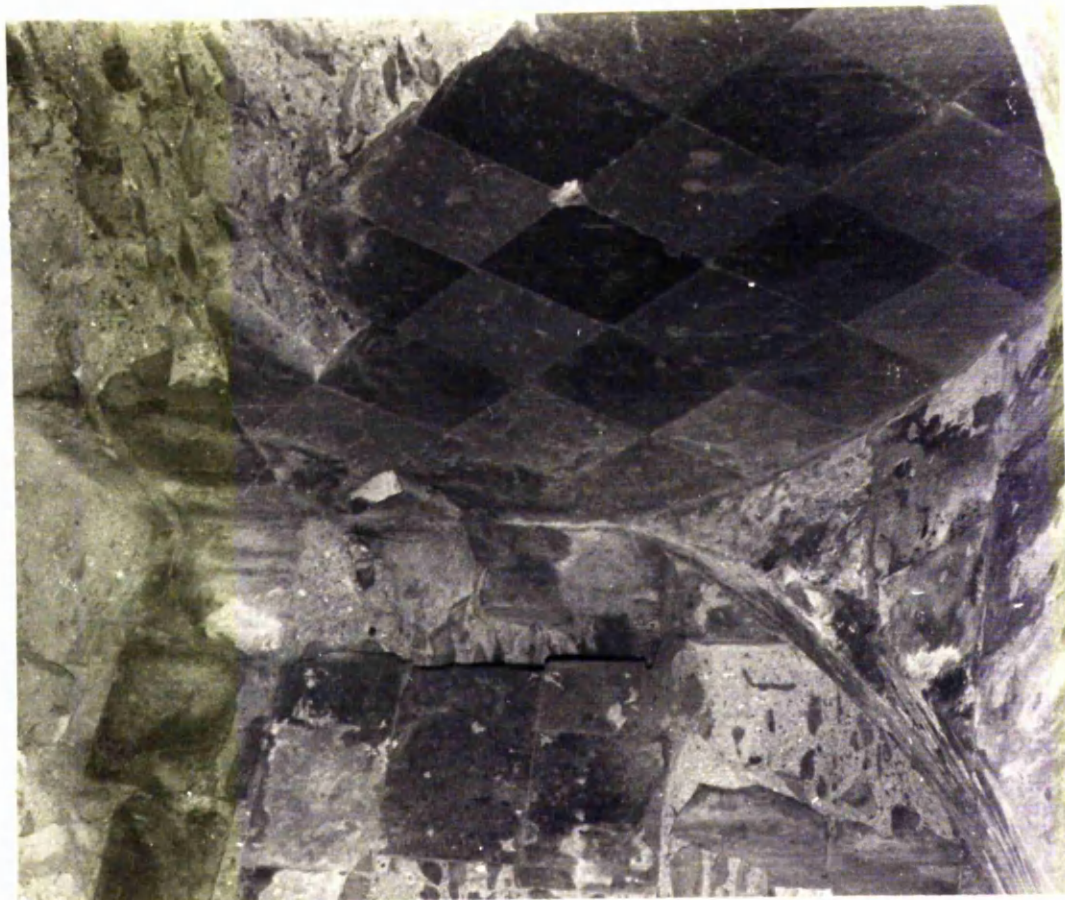
67



68

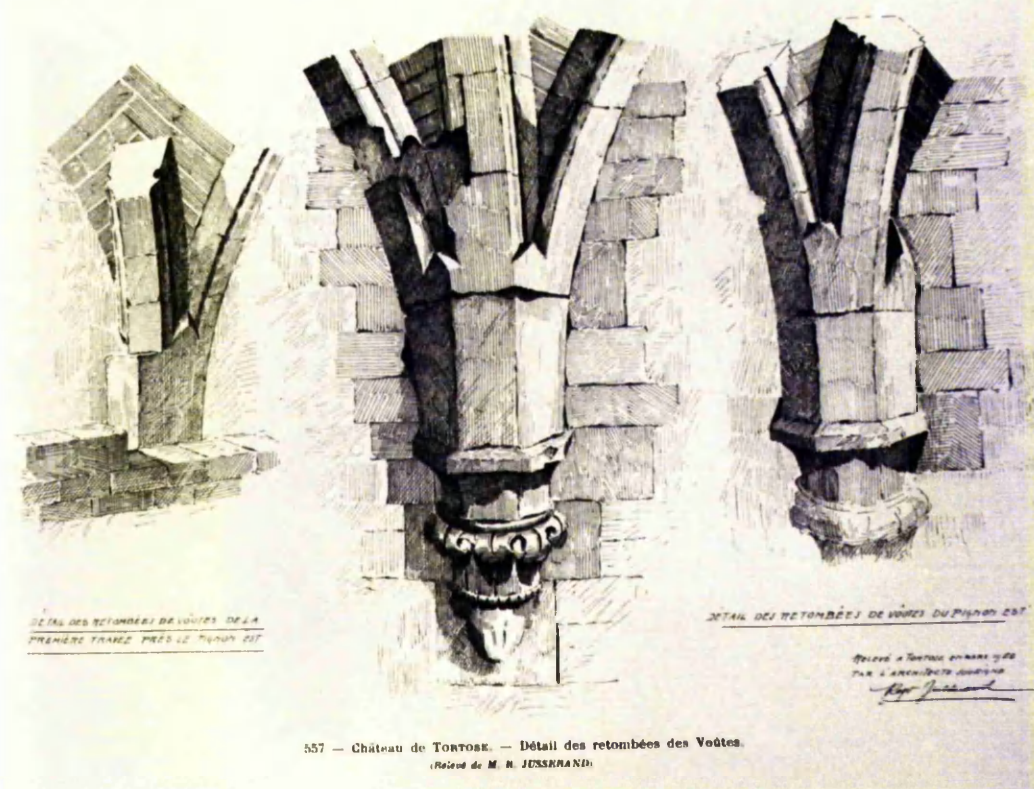


69



70

Monument. 1888. 1889. 1890.



557 — Château de TORTOSE. — Détail des retombées des Voûtes.
(Relevé de M. H. JESSERAND.)

71

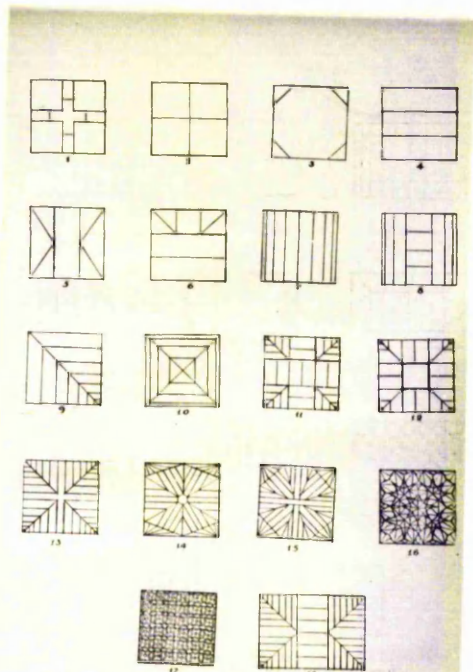


Рис. 90. Перекрытие угловых орнаментов. 1. Орнамент. 2. Сидикова. 3. 4. 5. 6. Архангельск. 7. Хорватия. 8. Татары. 9. Татары. 10. Татары. 11. Татары. 12. Татары. 13. Татары. 14. Татары. 15. Татары. 16. Татары. 17. Татары. 18. Татары.

72

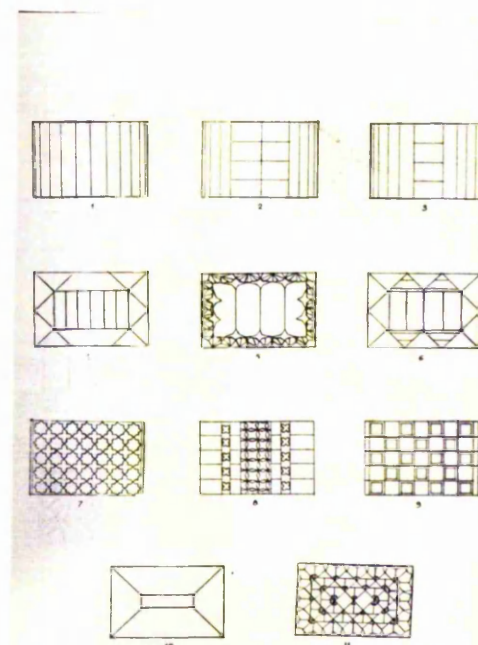
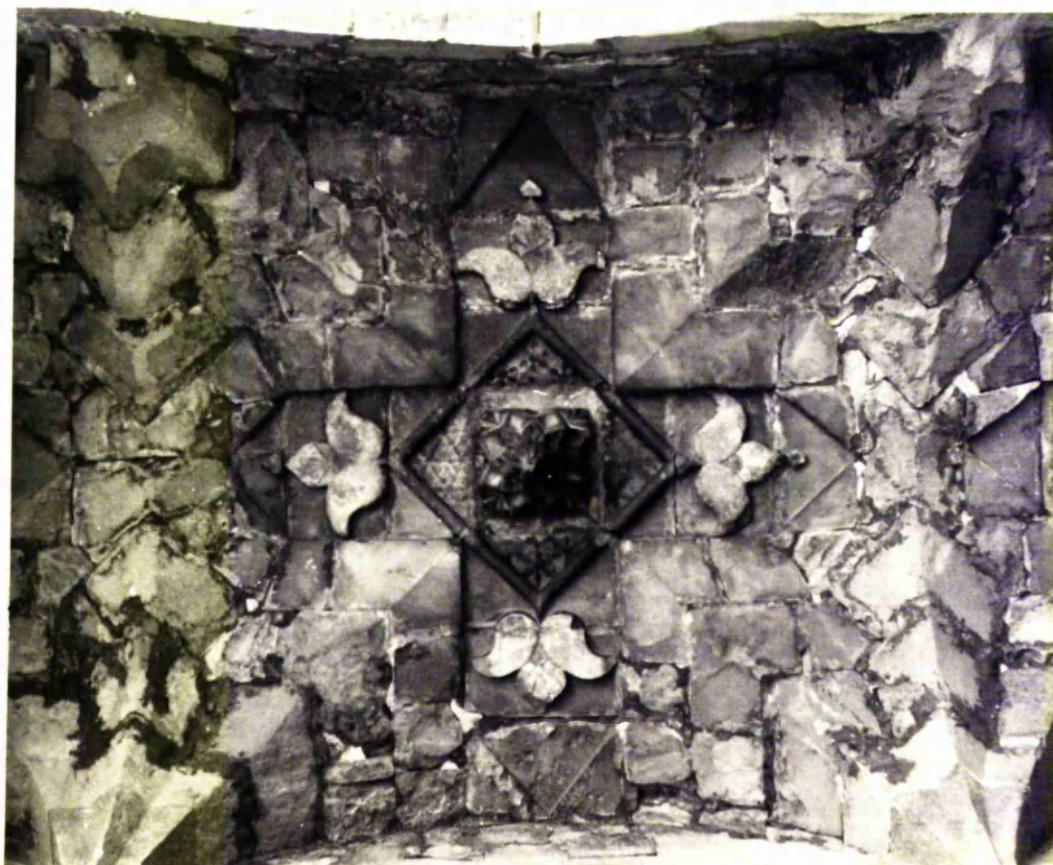


Рис. 91. Перекрытие боковых орнаментов. 1. Татары. 2. Татары. 3. Татары. 4. Татары. 5. Татары. 6. Татары. 7. Татары. 8. Татары. 9. Татары. 10. Татары.

73



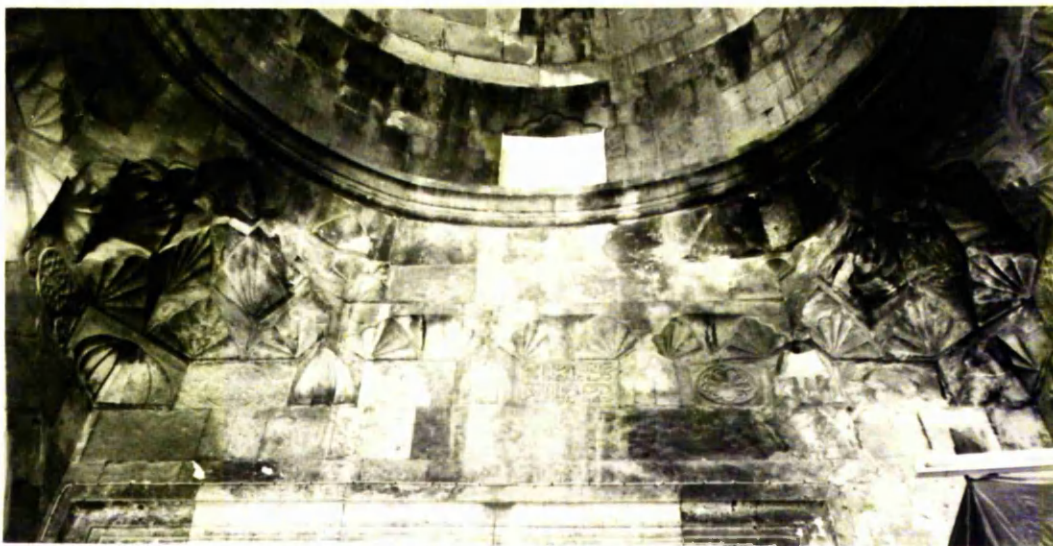
74



75



76



77



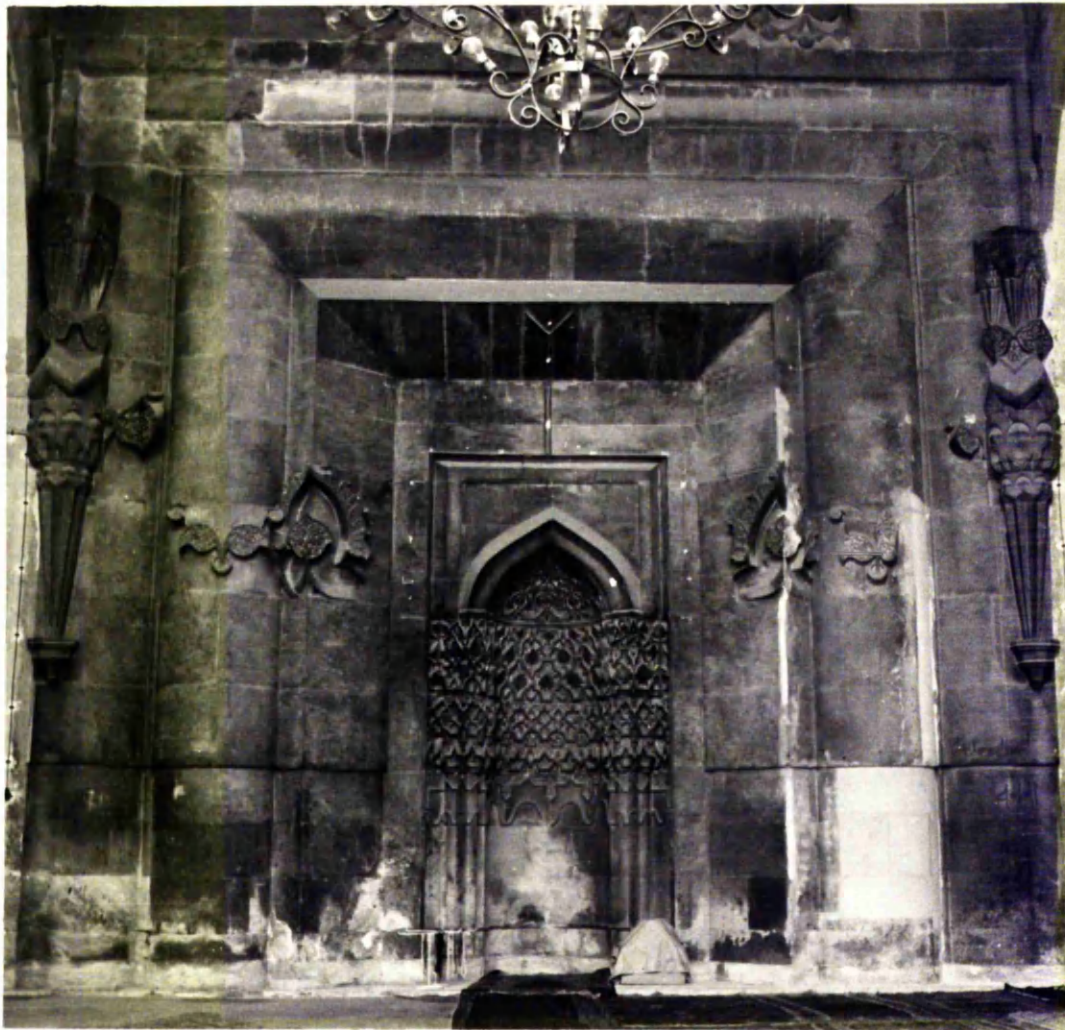
78



79



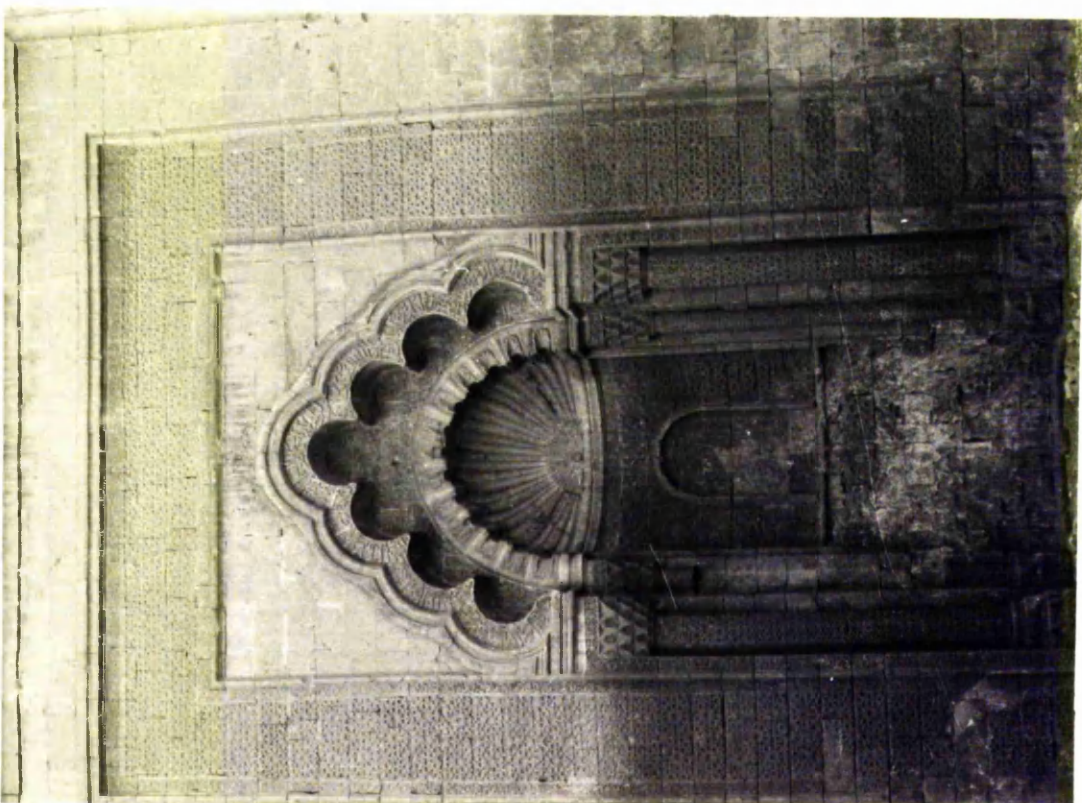
80



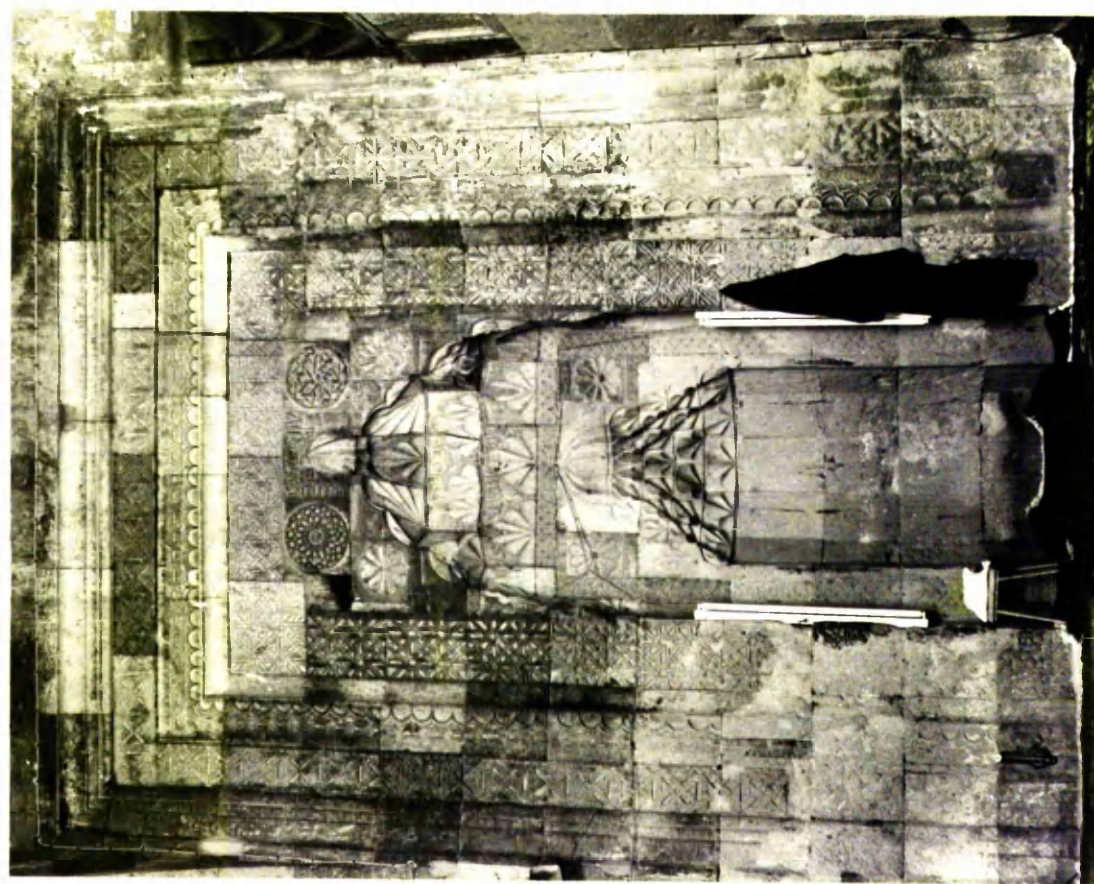
81



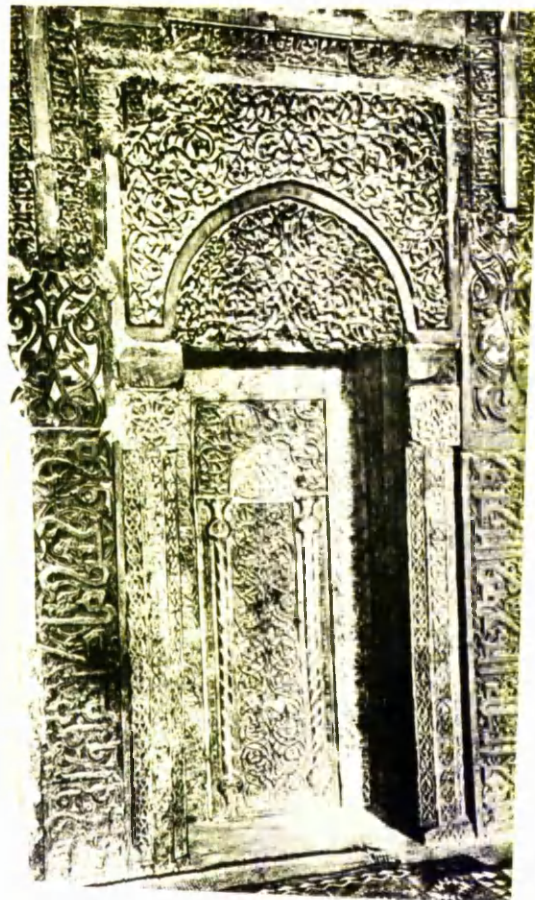
84



82



83



85



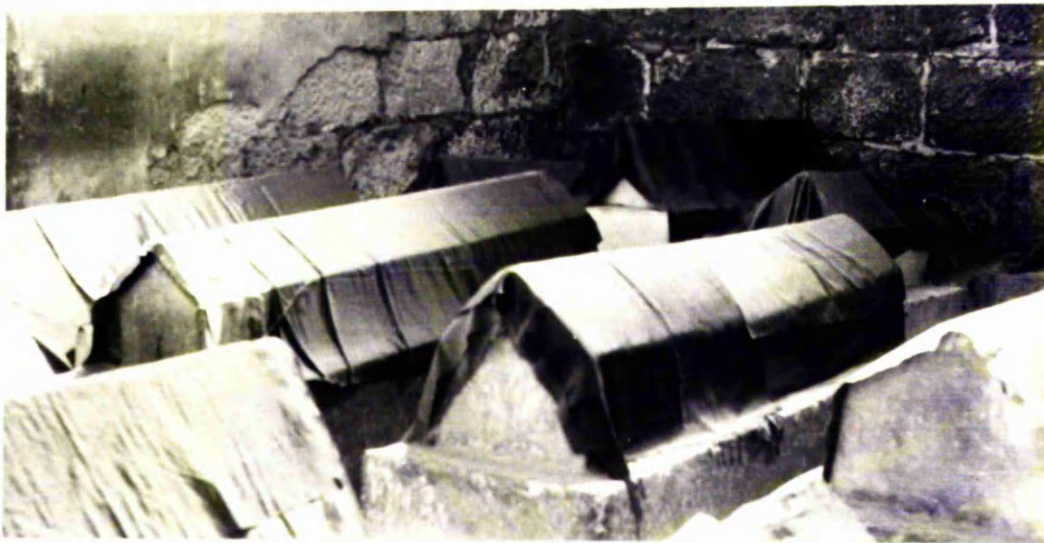
86



87



88



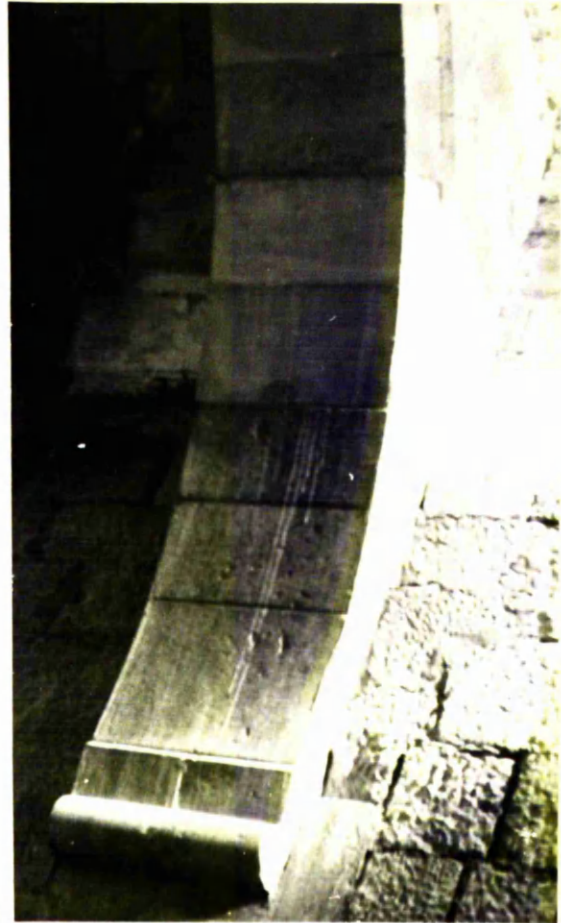
89



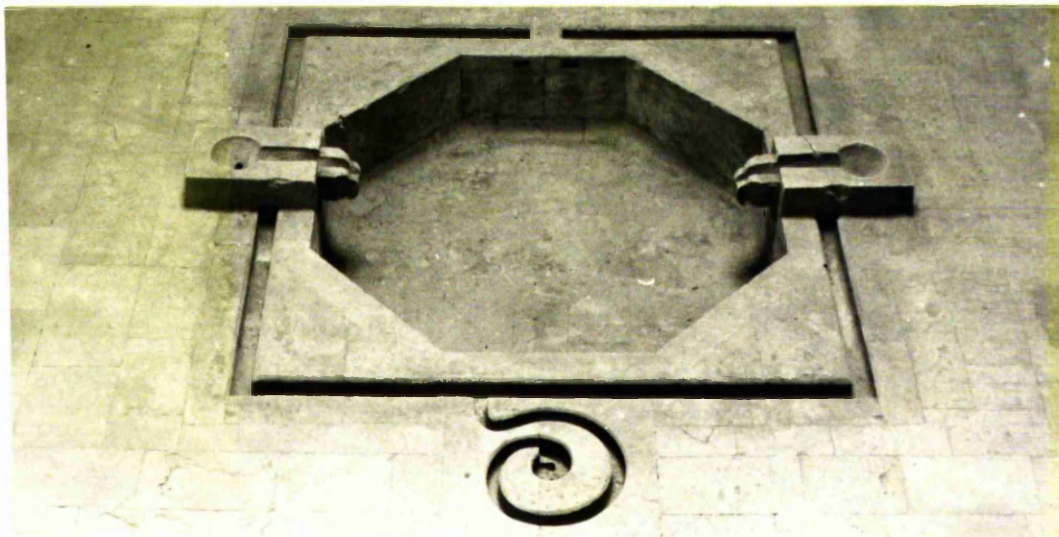
90



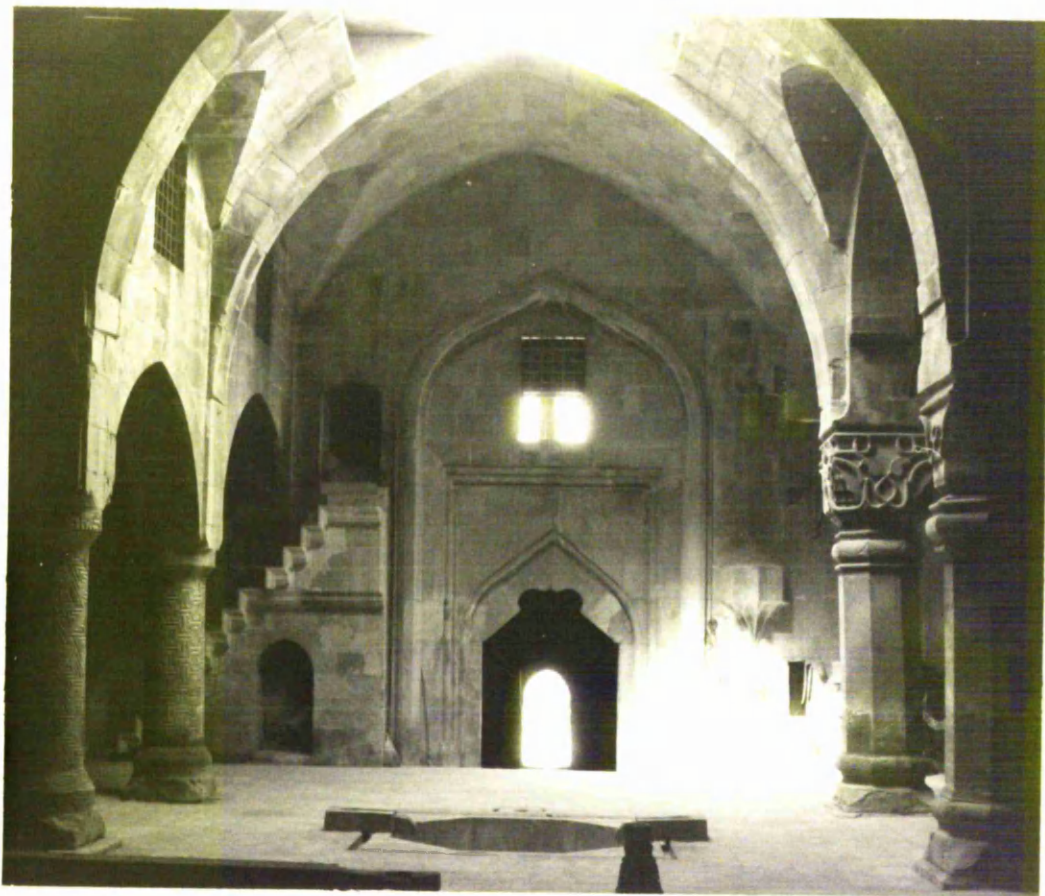
91



92



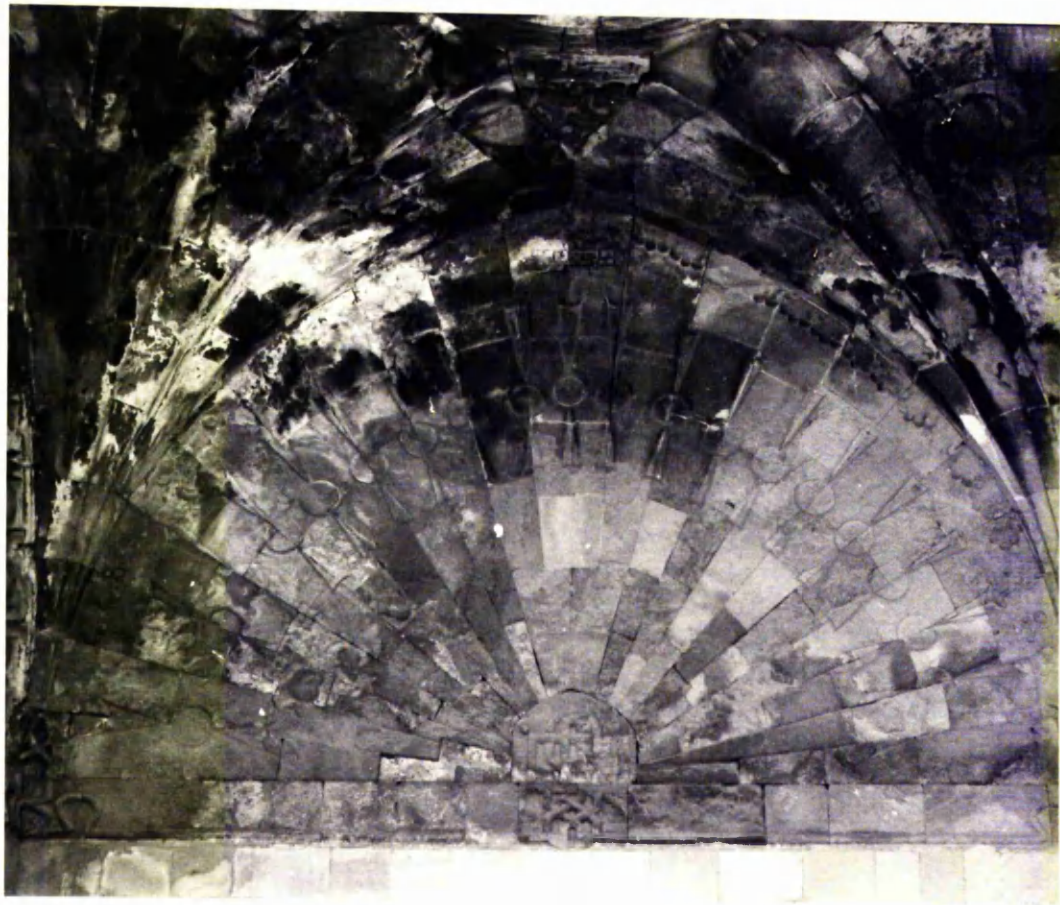
93



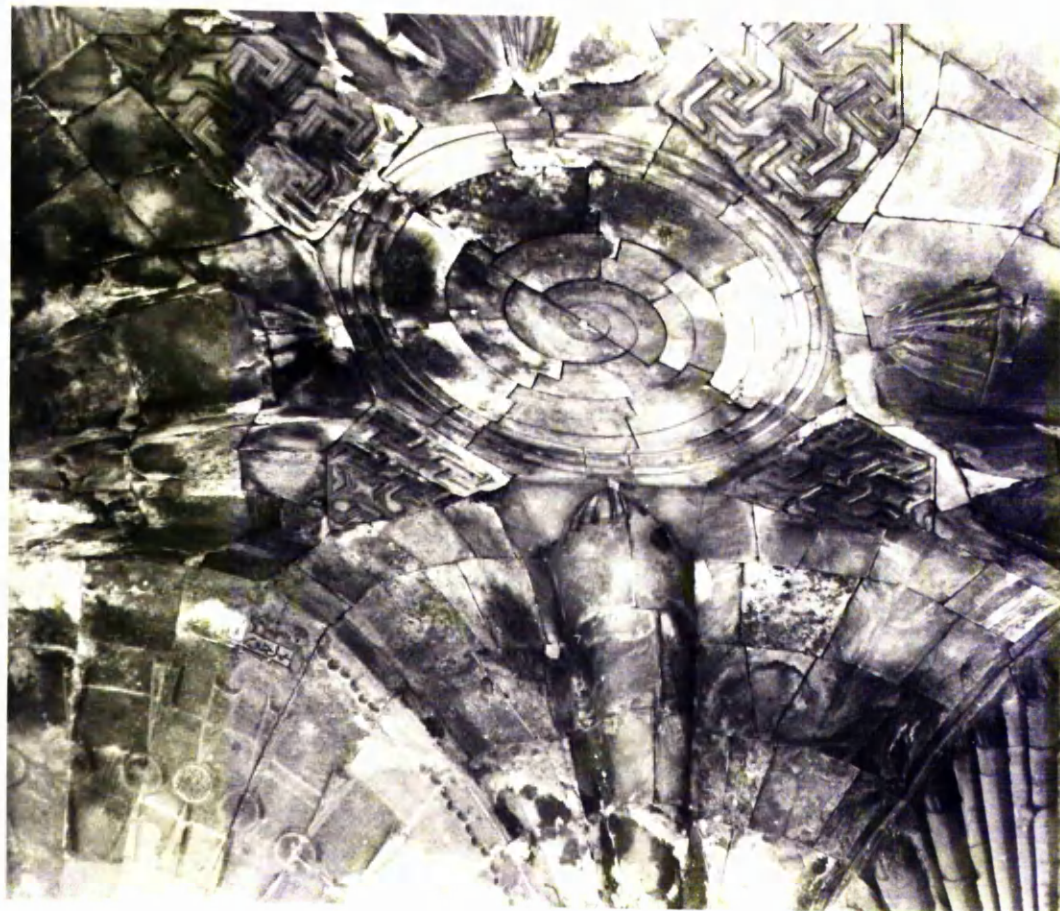
94



95



96



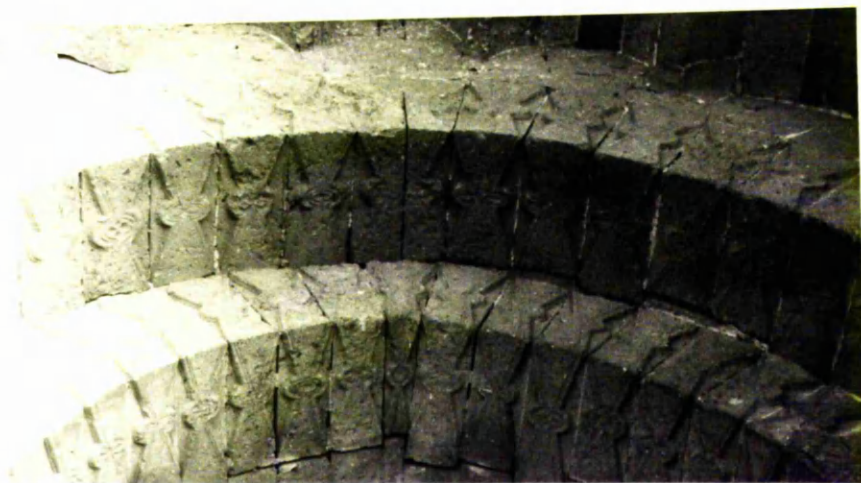
97



98



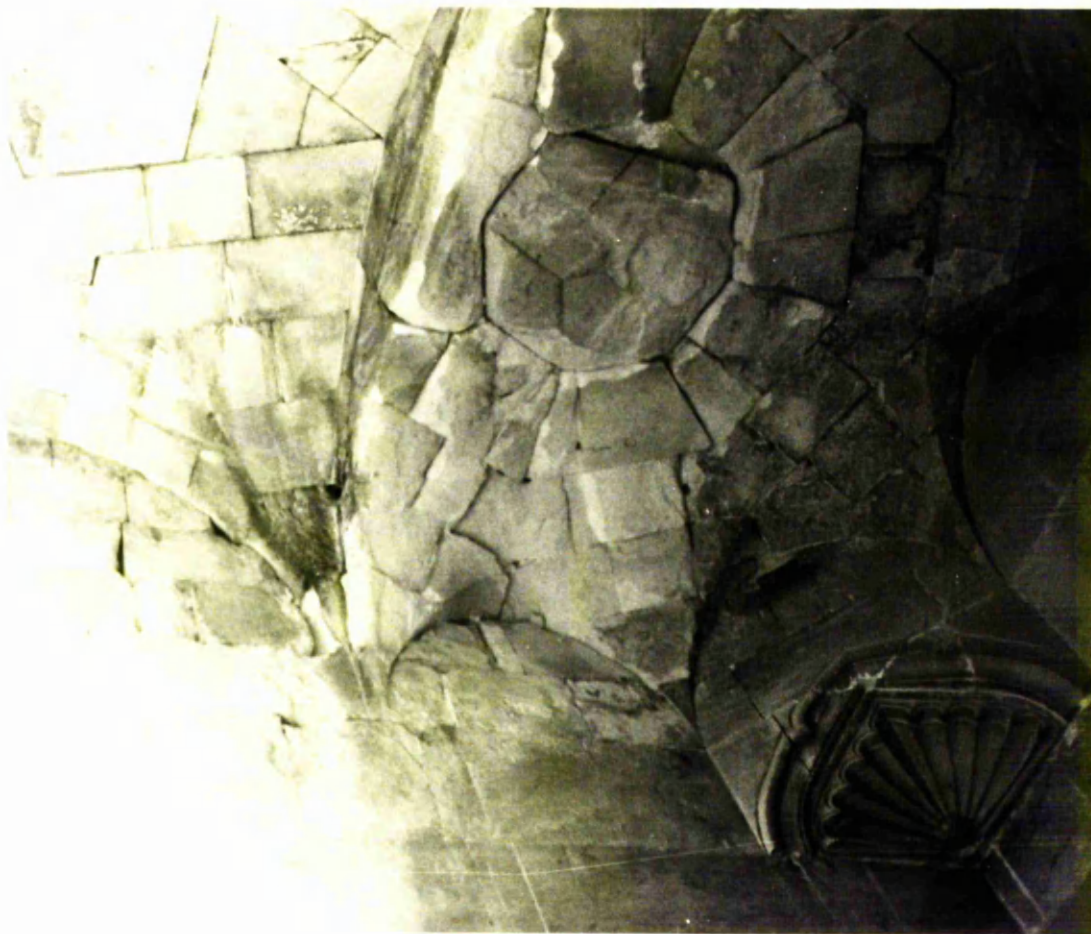
100



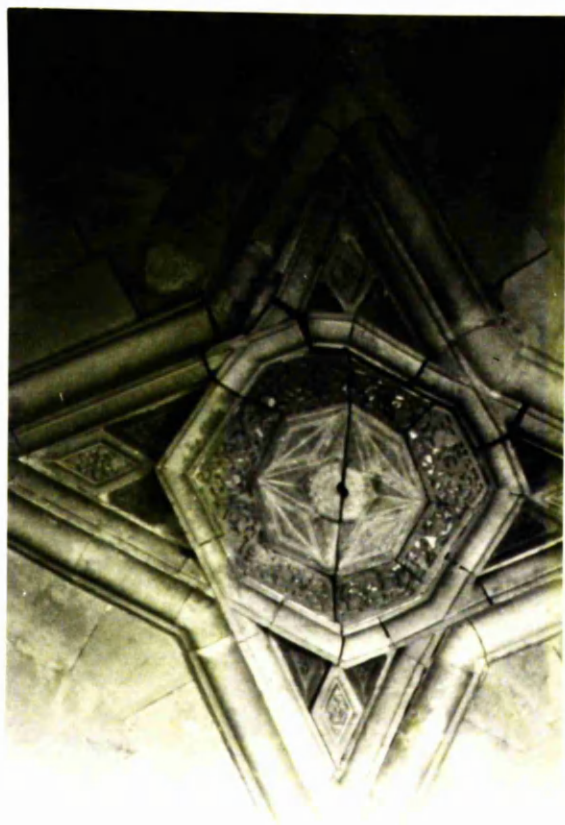
99



101



102



103



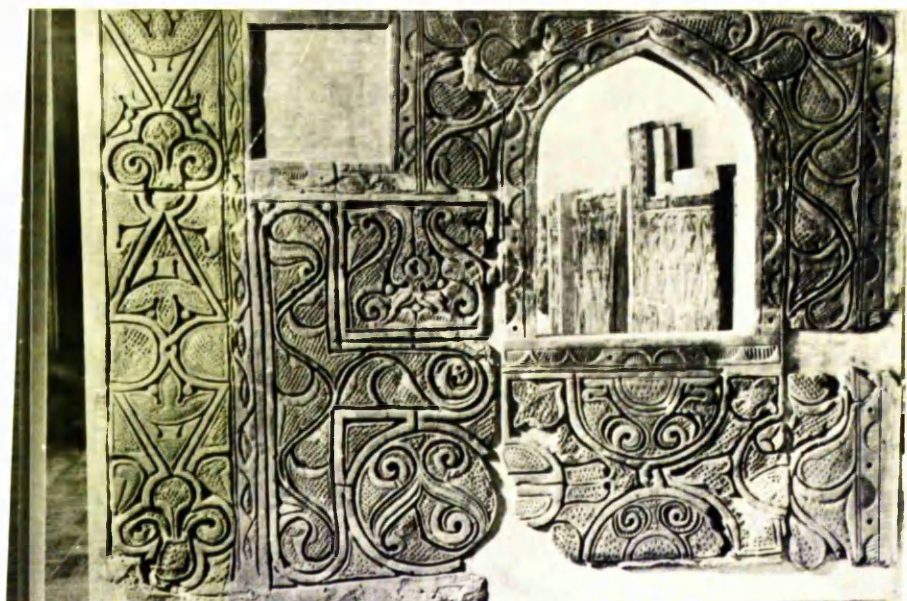
104



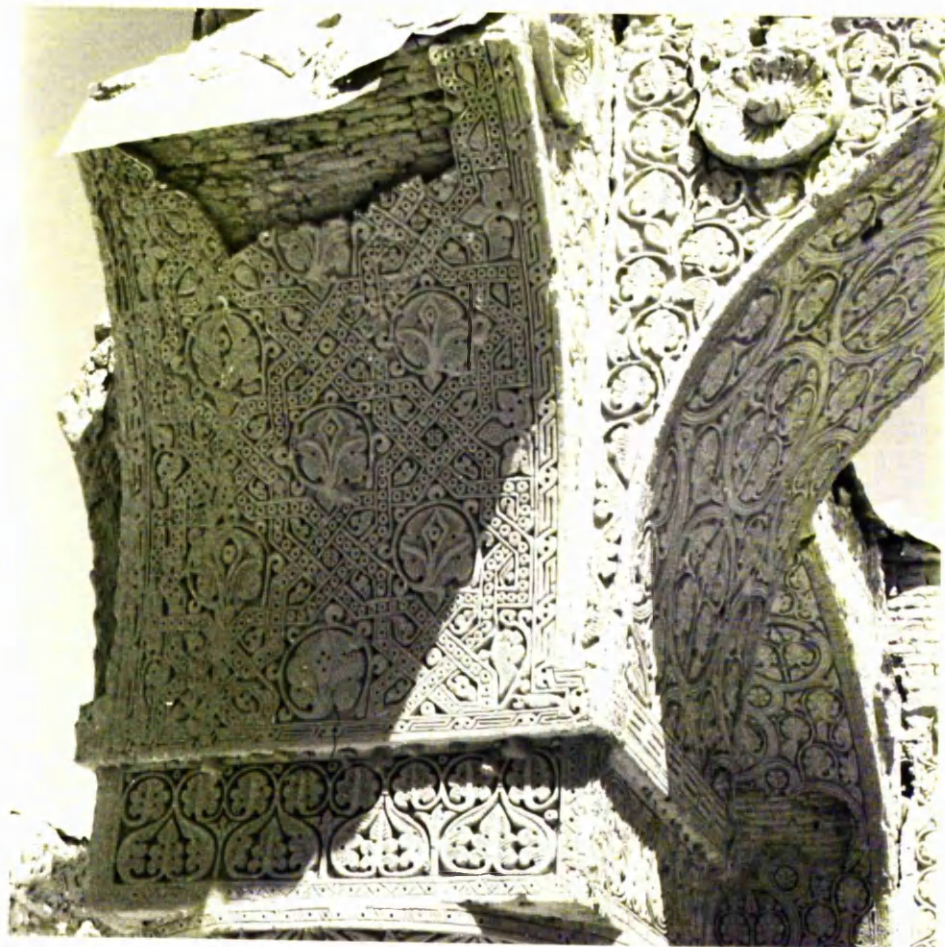
105



106



107



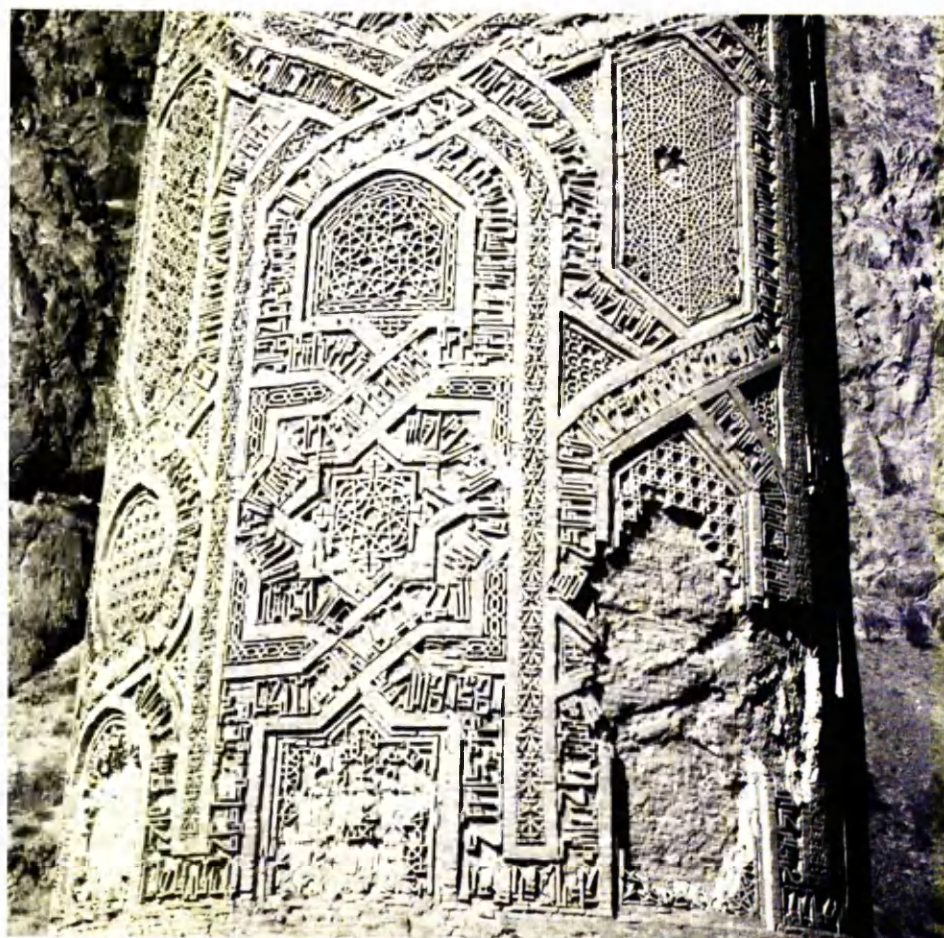
108



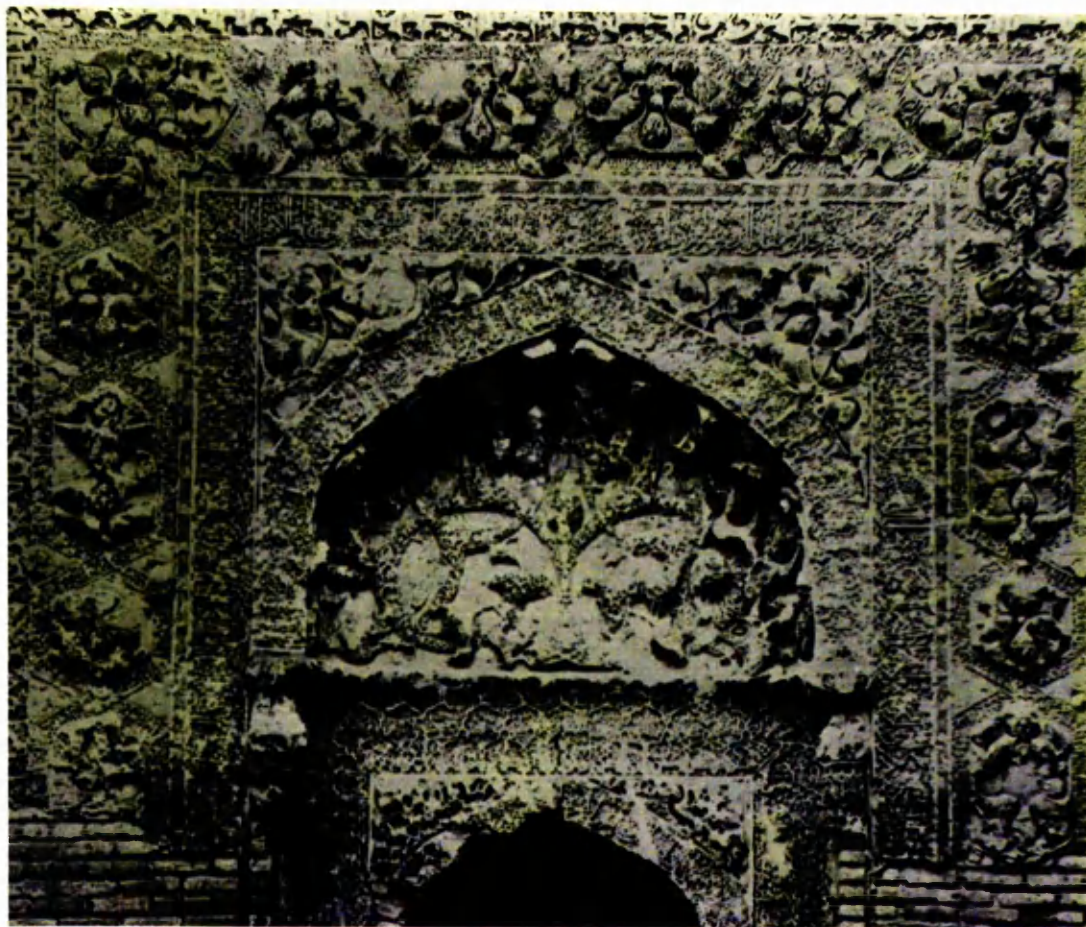
109



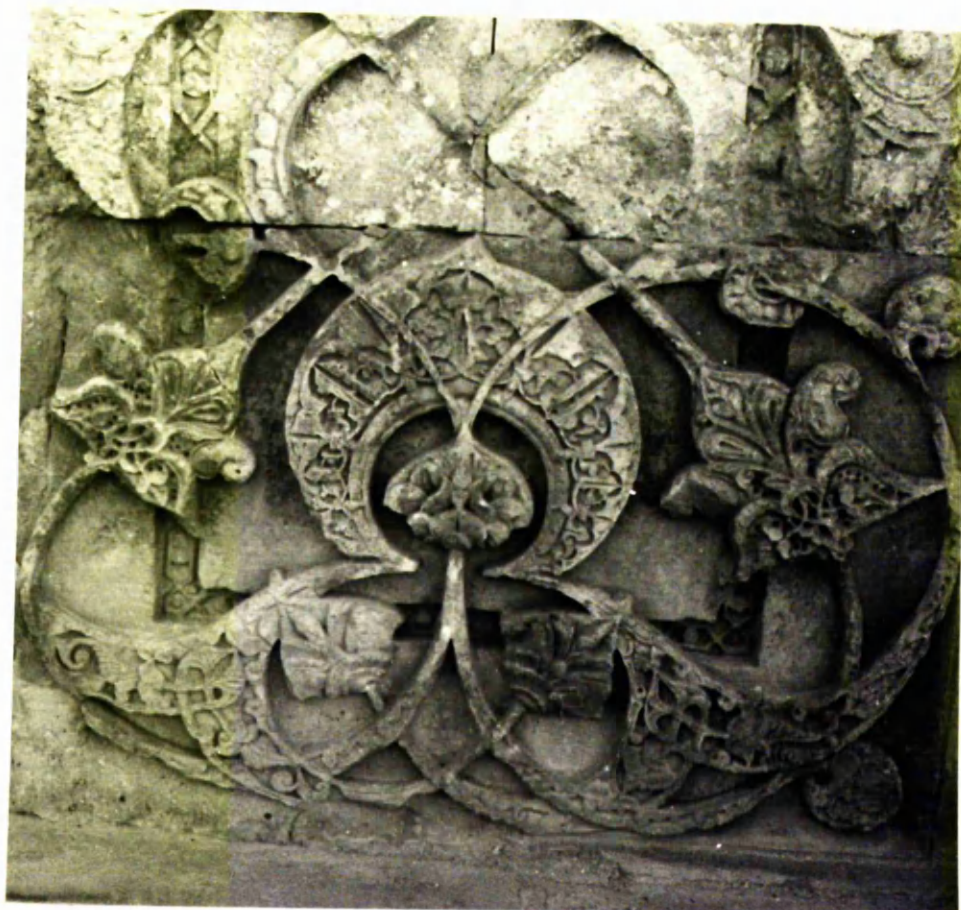
110



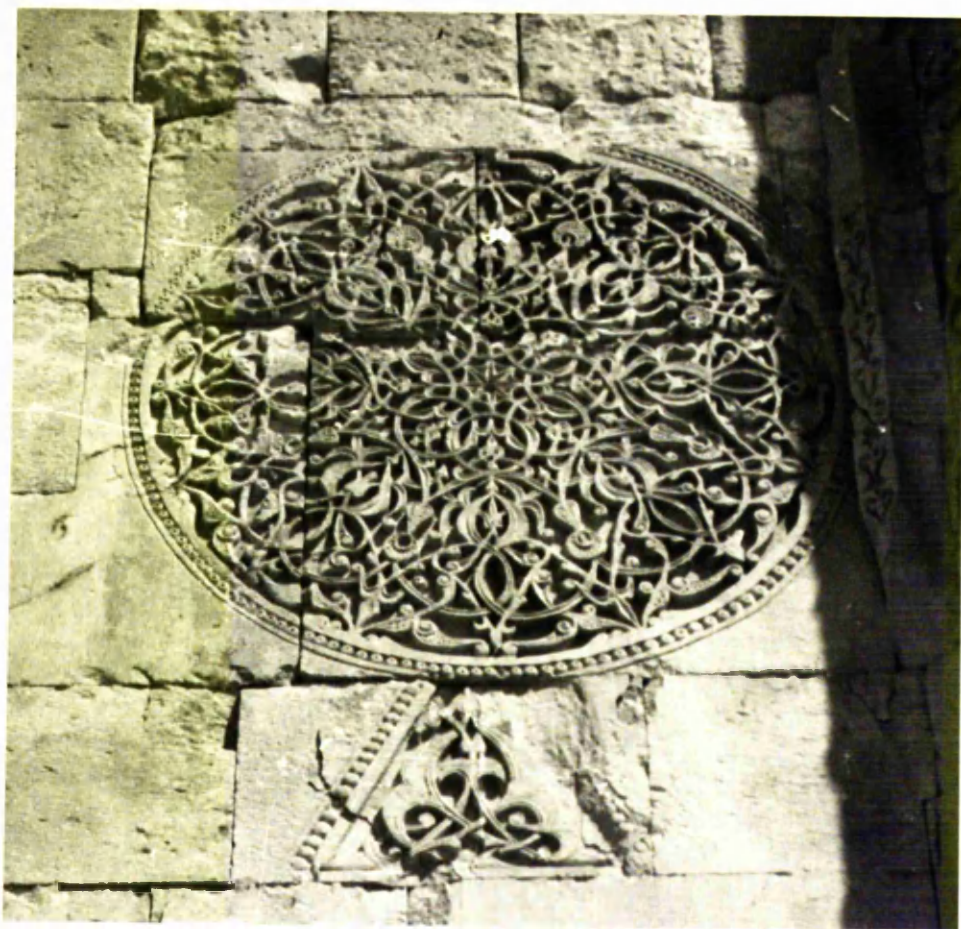
111



112



113



114



115



i. fo. 258 r



j. fo. 259 r



k. fo. 261 v



l. fo. 267 v



m. fo. 268 v



n. fo. 269 r



o. fo. 273 v



p. fo. 274 r



q. fo. 276 r



r. fo. 278 v



s. fo. 281 v



t. fo. 282 r



u. fo. 283 r



v. fo. 280 r



w. fo. 286 r



x. fo. 288 r

116



117



118



119

الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلوة والسلام على محمد وآله وصحبه أجمعين أما
بعد فلما كانت الدنيا الدينية قائمة سريعة الزوال وكانت الدار الآخرة باقية
كثيرة النوال وإن الدنيا مزرعة الآخرة بلا شك ولا محال فالماعت على إمامه
هذا الكتاب أن أحمد شاه ابن سليمان شاه وأحد فاطمة خاتون لهما تفكيرا
مفهوم قوله عليه الصلوة والسلام الدنيا مزرعة الآخرة وقوله عليه السلام
الصدقة فدية المعاصي يوم يؤخذ الحرمون بالنواصي " فخصرا إلى الهدى
الشرعى المنعقد في محكمة مدينة ديوردي فقروا في مختصر المتولى الحسى
الذى نصناه وعيناه لأجل التحصيل وهو يحى الدين بن خير الله فضلا إن
ما تملكناه إلى هذا الآن تملكنا صحاحا وتصرفناه تصرفا شرعيا من القرى والمزارع
من مضافات الديورى " وهو نصف قرية تختيار " جميع توابعه من ناحية
حجك ونصف قرية حاجيك " مع جميع مزارعه وتوابعه من ناحية سور
ونصف قرية زغور سفلى " من ناحية ابن عاد ونصف قرية خان مرنجك
ونصف مزرعة اموك " قر تزد قرية اورته كوى " ونصف قرية صابون " مع
مزارعها وتوابعها من ناحية زيشك ونصف مزرعة حون " در ند قرية خوز
ناول " قد وقفناها إلى أهل مرتبة الجامع الكبير الذى بناه أحمد شاه بن
سليمان شاه في قصبة ديوردي وجعلناها اثنين وعشرين سيماء أربعة أسهم
للأئمة وأربعة أسهم للخطيب وأربعة أسهم للمؤذنين وثلاثة أسهم
للقراشين وسهمان للمتولى وسهم واحد للمناظر وسهمان للخرى خوان
وفقه دار " وسهم للمعزف " وسهم للمرقم " فإن خرب الجامع الكبير العميد
بالله تعالى بحيث انقضى رسومه كان وفقا للوامع العشرة في قصبة ديوردي
وإن خربت كلها فإلى الفقراء والمساكين الذين سكنوا في القصبة المذبورة ولما
ختم الكلام وتم أمر التحصيل والتسلم فام وافغان " المذبوران مالا إلى الرجوع
بنا على مذهب الإمام أبى حنيفة والمتولى المذكور عارض أن الوقف المذبور
صح عند الإمامين الهمامين ورجى حكم الحاكم بحكم الحاكم نظرا إلى
جانب الوقف وحذرا عن إبطال الخير بلزوم الوقف ويقتد فصار الوقف
صححا بالاتفاق وإن الواقفان المذبوران " أخرجا المتولى الحسى الذى نصناه
لأجل التحصيل والتراعى وأبقاه على ما شرطاه وأجرا " الوقف على الله تعالى
فمن بدله بعد ما سمعنا فإنه على الذين يمدونهم إن الله سمع
عليهم " تحريرا في أواسط شهر محرم الحرام سنة إحدى وأربعين وستة مائة
من هجرة نبي آخر الزمان.

Signatures des témoins :

المدرس العروب	عبد القادر ابن	محمد الدين	حسن حلى	فرو بكر حلى
كامل	حاج احمد	ابن شريف	ابن سكر حلى	ابن عبد الوقف
المدرس عبد الله	كعبان ابن	سليم حلى	يوسف حلى	احمد حلى
ابن على	سليم حلى	الدين	ابن هوشد حلى	ابن ابراهيم حلى